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MATERIALS

FOR

THINKING.

By WILLIAM BURDON.

FIFTH EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR EFFINGHAM WILSON, ROYAL EXCHANGE.

1820.

GENERAL

Printed by William Guthrie, Blythe.

PREFACE.

My first object in all that I have done and all that I have written, has been to make mankind better and happier than they are; for I have experienced much unhappiness myself, and I have seen a great deal of it around me. That the world wants mending none will deny, but those who are very stupid or those who are very happy, and these are not the majority of mankind. It may seem like presumption in any individual to think he can do much towards the improvement of others; but the fact is, that all men can do something if they desire it, some in one way and some in another. To me it has become, after much reflection on the miseries of mankind, a fixed and settled conviction, that the primary cause of all these miseries is the disproportion which

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exists between the productive powers of man and of the earth; and that the secondary cause is that almost innate principle of selfishness arising from the aforesaid disproportion, which impels every man to take as much as he can from others, and get as much as he can for himself. I am convinced that if the force of this propensity can be mitigated, and if men can be taught to feel that by giving full sway to it they deprive themselves of much happiness, and lose the aim and object of all their struggles, they will be better and happier. A refined self-love, which finds pleasure in giving pleasure to others, is a much more liberal and in the end a much wiser principle, than that which seeks all for itself, and finds its chief gratification in gaining advantage over others: "It blesseth him that gives and him that takes." As a mere matter of calculation it will be found in the end, that those who consult the happiness of others as well as their own, are happier than those sordid souls who think of nothing but themselves. In proportion as this principle is acted upon, mankind will become wiser and

happier, for true wisdom is that which promotes happiness.

To act from that refined self-love which makes the happiness of others essential to our own, is the joint result of constitution and of education; it arises from our feelings and our sentiments. The chief causes of all cruel or unjust actions are a want of feeling and a wrong mode of thinking, a false calculation of things. To remedy the first is the most difficult, for it is too often the fault of nature; to remedy the second, it is requisite to teach men to think justly,—to see the true nature and relations of things,—to divest themselves of undue prepossessions,—to examine the true sense of words, and acquire a knowledge of themselves.

The opinions contained in this book are not likely to make a very rapid progress in the world; for they are not derived from the imagination, nor likely to be aided by the zeal of proselytism. A methodistical sermon about heaven and hell and damnation may make a dozen converts in an hour; but a sober address to the reasoning faculties of man,

though it may convince him, will not always influence his conduct, nor impel him to attempt the conviction of others. Truth makes few proselytes compared to error. Imagination has a wide dominion, that of reason is very limited. Ten thousand believe in the inventions of the one, for ten that rely on the deductions of the other. Hence it is that I have very small hopes of living to see morality get rid of religion; though I am convinced that religion reconciles some men to the evils of this world by the hopes of a better, and thus becomes the foe of morality.

It is not many years since I first attempted to add my mite towards abating the force of party strifes and religious prepossessions, by the diffusion of more liberal sentiments; and I have seen a great change for the better on both these subjects.—How far I have contributed to this happy amendment I will not venture to determine.

Welbeck Street, June 7, 1817.

PREFACE

TO THE FIFTH EDITION.

It may be thought requisite that I should account for the circumstance of this Edition being called the Fifth, when the last was only the Third. The matter stands thus:—the first volume was published by itself in numbers, and of that there were two editions. It was then published with the second, and afterwards a second edition of the two.—The present is therefore the fifth edition of the first volume, and the third of the second. This explanation will account for the whole being called the fifth edition.

MEMOIR

OF

WILLIAM BURDON.

William Burdon's father was a country gentleman, who possessed a small landed property in Yorkshire. About his middle age he speculated in different branches of business, and became a coal-owner. At this period he resided mostly at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in which town Mr. Burdon was born, the eleventh of September 1764. His mother's name was Wharton. Through her he inherited considerable landed estates in Durham and Northumberland. Mr. Burdon received the rudiments of education at the free grammar-school of his native town, whence he passed to Emmanuel college, Cambridge, in 1781. In 1786 he became Bachelor of Arts, and a Fellow in 1788. Indisposed to take orders, he resigned his fellowship in 1799. He then married, and for some years resided at Morpeth, pursuing his studies in almost uninterrupted retirement. His wife dying, he married a second time.

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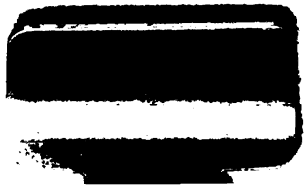

Besides these works Mr. Burdon contributed to the periodical and diurnal press.—This is a long list of writings by one man who did not begin the office of author very early in life and died prematurely.

Yet it is not the extent and variety of his compositions that attract the attention; but the liberality, the benevolence, and the love of truth, which pervade them. Justice was so peculiarly his character, that self-love—the predominant love of an author for his opinions—had no hold on him. He had originally conceived extravagant notions of the "unlimited improveability of our nature," which he renounced. He had repeatedly eulogized Bonaparte; yet in the Preface to the second edition, 1804, of his Life of that extraordinary person, he acknowledged himself "to have been blinded by the splendid blaze of his success, his exploits, and his promises. But now, that time and the possession of power have unmasked him, and reflection has taken place of sudden surprise, I am no longer an enthusiast in his praise, but view him as he deserves to be viewed by every lover of liberty and of human nature," &c. This freedom to retract declarations which he considered erroneous has been reputed by some as vacillating:—this was not his temper; he was sufficiently decisive: but some regard Bonaparte as a first love, whom they have taken *for better for worse*, without considering that even this conjugal contract has its limits. Mr. Burdon's fault was not, that he abandoned Bonaparte, but that he was too long beguiled by his artifices.

The author of this memoir has also heard of a small

pamphlet circulated in the North offensive to the purity of Mr. Burdon's principles. This is a pure lie, as it wants the semblance of truth. Mr. Burdon had written some severe strictures on the meanness of annually begging for the Clergy of Durham, a body of men who share among themselves nearly two hundred thousand pounds a year of the public bounty. The justness of this reproach was manifest; and as he could not be answered, even sophistically, he was abused. His motives for exposing their indecorous solicitations also were above all insinuation; for had he consented to receive orders, he would long before that time have obtained a College living of a thousand pounds annual revenue.

Mr. Burdon's justice is obvious in all his works. He states either side of a question, (even when he is most decidedly in favour of one of them,) with the utmost fairness. In his pamphlet on the Privileges of the House of Commons, (in which he shows he would have succeeded as a lawyer if he were not as averse to the bar as the church,) this equity is remarked by a writer in the Monthly Review, for "though an ardent opponent of the privilege lately exercised by the House of Commons," "his plain dealing will indeed by some be deemed excessive; for he accuses Mr. Hatsell and Sir Francis Burdett of misstating and misrepresenting the precedent established in Thorp's case," &c. vol. lxiii. page 216.

Next to justice, Mr. Burdon was distinguished for his love of liberty. Nor was this confined to any particular pursuit, nor to his country, nor to Europe—it

was universal. He was anxious for Old Spain and for her American colonies. His house also was a refuge for many Spanish patriots: the writer has heard him mention his intimacy with twenty-three individuals of that nation, all of whom without exception he spoke of as men of considerable talents and superior probity.

His benevolence and generosity were not confined to persons suffering in a great cause. To want, was to him a sufficient recommendation; and if in the person distressed he discovered abilities, he patronized him beyond his merits. The circumstances attending two individuals, who ill-requited his affection and generosity, might be omitted in regard to his discernment and the credit of human nature. But the good of all is the relation of truth. I may observe that in one of the instances alluded to, the young man was introduced to him by a work called "The Saunterer." He was friendless, and in distress. Mr. Burdon superintended his final education, entered him at Cambridge, and maintained him at the University. With his good fortune, he disgusted by his vanity all to whom he was introduced—became prodigal—incurred considerable debts —sunk into the vilest debauchery—and frequently reviled his benefactor in the Satirist. Of Mr. Burdon's other failure of a similar kind, it is so hideous, that it is unique for romantic attachment on one side and ingratitude on the other.

In giving an account of an author it is usual to scan his style, and afford an estimate of his learning and capacity. As a writer, the reader may decide for him-

self. The basis of Mr. Burdon's philosophy, and that to which he directed all his thoughts, was utility. In what degree he succeeded in this respect must also be submitted to the sagacity of the reader. But it may be observed that THE MATERIALS FOR THINKING, from 1803 to 1819 passed through five editions—a succession, considering the nature of the work, seldom exceeded in rapidity; and particularly as it was not cherished by any friendly reviewer, nor announced with the usual titular appendages, but simply by William Burdon.

Mr. Burdon's habits were retired. He was averse to general intercourse and worldly matters;—perhaps his unaptness for business was increased by the unkind efforts of his father to force his disposition; as there can be no doubt but his literary propensities were improved by the Rev. Hugh Moises, master of the grammar-school at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, of whom he always spoke with affection and respect.

He was middle-sized, slender, yet well-knit and agile. His health was precarious, probably in consequence of a too sedentary life; yet his complaint did not materially obstruct his studies. He composed the Life of Bonaparte during a severe jaundice, yet it betrays no symptoms of the lassitude which attends that disease.

For many years a small swelling affected his thigh; it was only perceivable when pressed, and produced no inconvenience. In July 1817 it became troublesome and increased in size; in a short time the pain was unremitting and intense. Mr. Burdon was confined

to his bed, yet he persisted to prepare the present edition of "Materials for Thinking" for the press. Continuing to grow worse, and no hope from the medical assistance afforded in the country, he arose from his bed, emaciated and in agony, to perform a journey from Northumberland to London. The first surgeons of the capital were successively employed—all their remedies were ineffectual. The complaint being assuredly an ossification, amputation was determined on. Mr. Burdon hailed the decision. During the operation, which was skilfully performed, Mr. Burdon neither winced nor lamented—his pulse was unvaried. The thigh was amputated close to the trunk of the body. Though the wound healed slowly, and he was never free from pains, sanguine hopes were entertained of his recovery. In two months he came down stairs; he took air in the carriage, and even moved about the streets, in the neighbourhood of Welbeck-street, by the assistance of a servant. All hopes were soon ended. About the middle of May he gradually relapsed; he found great difficulty of breathing, attended with spasms. On the 24th of May, being in imminent danger, he expressed an ardent wish to see a gentleman of his acquaintance: he came to Mr. Burdon at midnight, who expressed the utmost affection for him, adding, "They say I may live—I say I must die." Mr. Burdon did not wish to see his wife and children—"Oh, no," he answered, "it would be too distressing,"—so tender was his nature. He expired the 30th of May 1818, possessing his intelligence unimpaired to the close of his existence.

Such was William Burdon; an attentive husband, a fond father, an absolute friend. Deeply versed in the Greek and Latin classics, he spoke French fluently, and was largely acquainted with German, Spanish, and Italian literature. A politician without the taint of party,—an instructor who practised what he inculcated,—a philosopher who sought truth, who employed his unadulterated reason in its pursuit, and fearlessly published the result of his inquiries. He was liberal, rational, resolute, and consistent,—for as he lived he died.

G. E.

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MATERIALS

FOR

THINKING.

LIBERALITY OF SENTIMENT.

LIBERALITY of sentiment is the greatest ornament of man, it embellishes all his other good qualities, and makes them shine with double lustre, it softens all the harshness arising from difference of opinion, it lessens the frequency of private quarrels, and makes the Jew, the Christian, and the Infidel, live at peace with each other. This amiable quality, tho' occasionally possessed by the first teachers of Christianity, has, in very few instances, ever belonged to any description of Christians since their times, for sentiments of intolerance are early to

be found in the writings of the Fathers, and all established religions are essentially intolerant. The liberality of true philosophy is unrestrained by the narrow creed of opinions merely speculative, and estimates every man's merit by his conduct, considering the great end of philosophy to consist in utility. But all mankind are not philosophers, for with most men, violence is the test of sincerity, and to be liberal is but another name for being indifferent; such, however, have yet to learn, that sincerity in opinions is to be shewn only by actions, and that belief is a personal affair. What I should believe, no man has a right to dictate or enquire; what I do, concerns others only so far as it may affect their interest. To be liberal, is only a virtue, because the perversity of the world has sanctioned the contrary, it is strictly that which every man has a right to expect, because no one has a right to say to another, "You ought to believe what I believe;" for belief should proceed from conviction, and conviction is not at any man's command.

Liberality, tho' not inconsistent with a belief of our own, forbears to interfere with the faith or the hopes of another, and all attempts to dictate to others, are violations of that pure spirit of philosophy, whose only weapons of conver-

sion are advice and argument, whereas the instruments of persecution are various, keen, and cruel; and tho' (thanks to the temper of the times!) those coarse correctors of heresy, the gibbet and the stake, are now out of fashion, yet the ingenuity of power has invented other methods of enforcing silence or belief, not quite so effectual, but more painful to the mind of the sufferer. The force of parental authority, the power of situation, the influence of riches, on the hopes and expectations, the feelings and passions of men, have all been exerted to effect a similarity of belief, which is of little use either to the world or to individuals.

The generality of mankind are ignorant, illiberal, and little qualified to judge of speculative opinions; if any one thinks for himself, and ventures to speak his sentiments, they harshly and hastily condemn him, without being able to enter into his motives; they cry out, "heretic! infidel! atheist!" and treat him with every species of insult and contempt.

To quarrel with our friends for difference of opinion, is peevish and ridiculous; it is like a spoilt child, who, not being able to get every thing he wants, falls a crying in a pet. Why should any man dislike another merely because he thinks differently from him, for if his actions

are just, kind, and honorable, of what consequence is it to the world, much less to any individual, from what motive they proceed? Some men do good because they feel a pleasure in it; others, because they conceive it to be the will of God; others, because they believe it to be conformable to the eternal rule of right and the moral nature of things, and if their actions neither disturb the peace of the world, nor interrupt the harmony of social intercourse, what right has any man to say, "You ought to think otherwise."

Opinions are of consequence only as they lead to actions, and when actions are destructive of public or private peace, it is the right of society to protect the safety of individuals by laws and punishments. To encroach on the right of thinking, is to invade liberty in her inmost sanctuary, and to reduce the greatest part of mankind to the rank of *automata*, for if a man's actions are not the result of his conviction, he might as well never think at all, but act like a puppet at the will of his mover. The professed object of all compulsion is uniformity of sentiment, an object, no doubt, desirable in matters of consequence, yet experience proves, that all attempts to produce it by force destroy their own purpose, for when left to themselves,

men are generally more alike in their opinions, than when controled by others. Truth is uniform and consistent, but error is multifarious, and the child of constraint, and so natural is liberty to man, that the more he is dictated to, the more likely he is to do wrong. Tho' some men tell us, that variety is desirable in all things, yet it is not to be denied, that, in things of importance the greatest similarity of opinion, consistent with liberty, is to be wished for, but in things that are indifferent, the greatest variety produces the greatest pleasure. Liberality, therefore, which leaves every man to think and act as he pleases, is the best remedy for difference of opinion, and the surest promoter of harmony among all parties. The experience of the world sufficiently proves, that there are hardly opinions in themselves destructive of the peace of society; it is not opinions which do harm, but the opposition to them. Many errors, which would have vanished before time and reason, have grown strong and vigorous by being encountered, and the very force by which they were opposed, has destroyed many thousand lives, and left the opinions which it meant to root out, confirmed and strengthened.

Liberality of sentiment is shewn not only in religious and political differences, but consists

also in a benevolent attention to the failings and ignorance of our fellow-creatures in all ranks and stations. A man of true liberality never judges harshly of the conduct of others, he makes allowance for the defects of education and the errors of judgment, he estimates with impartiality the opportunities and advantages which those who do wrong, have had of knowing better, and whenever he can put a favourable construction on the conduct of any human being, he never imputes it to a bad motive, but at most to a false conception of things.

A liberal man will advise, but he will never dictate, because he desires that every man should be allowed the free exercise of his judgment in things which concern his happiness, and where it is necessary to resent an injury, he will do it more as a painful duty, than a pleasure, and without insult, violence, or malice, so that the person corrected, if he has any feeling, will be more hurt by such generosity, than he could have been gratified by his own ill-nature. To love those that hate us, tho' a precept of religion, is beyond the reach of our nature; the utmost that can be expected, is forbearance from injury.

Liberality is a god-like virtue, for it arises only from superior intelligence. Ignorance and

illiberality are always found together. Whatever be his rank, profession, or pursuits, a liberal man will treat those of others with respect, at least where he differs, he will forbear to insult or injure, for even in politics and religion, which divide men the most in their opinions, it is possible to differ materially, and yet to be gentle and tolerant; to seek to convert, without dictating, and to give advice without offence. Liberality of sentiment gives an amiable cast to all our words and actions, and distinguishes one man from another, more than any other quality, for it is more extensive in its operation. Other virtues can only be exercised at particular times, and towards particular persons, but liberality is perpetually requisite. It is called for in judging and in acting, in council, in debate, in the senate, the pulpit, and the bar; it is shewn towards our friends and our enemies; to the wicked, the ignorant, and the foolish, the learned, and the gay; to all ages, sexes, and complexions; and even the virtuous are not above its beneficence, for it palliates their indiscretions, and prevents their good from being evil spoken of; it endeavours to make virtue more amiable, and to soften the deformity of vice; it pardons the errors of youth, and pities the vanity of beauty; and

wherever it is possibleto extenuate the faults and failings of our frail nature, it covers with a veil of kindness what cannot be totally concealed. The vices of the heart are alone beyond its gentle influence, and can never be touched by its power; they are hard, obdurate, and inflexible, and yield neither to mildness nor generosity: they must be treated as they treat others, for liberality is lost upon them. Avarice, meanness, selfishness, cruelty, and dishonesty, deserve no quarter, and he that is not their enemy, is an enemy to the world, for they desire no friends, and are at open hostility with every thing noble, generous, or beneficent; severity towards such enemies, is not only justifiable, but requisite.

So great is the weakness of human nature, and such is the force of prejudice, that there are men who are liberal in some things and not in others. Where the passions are strongly excited, men, the most liberal in other respects, suffer themselves to be led away without examination, and, from the implicit faith which they attach to certain opinions, think themselves justified in reprobating all those who differ from them, and, contrary to the mildness of their nature, use a degree of severity when they speak of such differences, which nothing

but the importance of the subject could produce or palliate.

The good effects of liberal sentiments can never be sufficiently felt and understood, till they are contrasted with those of an opposite quality, for such is the constitution both of the natural and moral world, that virtue and beauty derive all their lustre from their opposites.

Illiberality is generally connected with the worst of our passions, and he whose mind is engrossed by any one of these, has no consideration for the feelings or the comfort of those who surround him. Ambition, envy, pride, malice, hatred, jealousy, revenge, and avarice, are passions which endure no rivals; every thing must yield to their gratification, or be sacrificed to their power; the gentle voice of moderation and reason is never heard in their presence; a benevolent feeling for the wants, ignorance, and desires of other people, is never experienced for a moment, and he who dares in any instance to oppose their power, will feel whether he deserves it or not; the violence with which they bear down all before them, right or wrong. Liberality stops to examine the true state of things, and mildly interprets the motives of others; but illiberality never deigns to reflect any further, than that

such and such things are contrary to her opinion or interest. Illiberality is a lesser sort of tyranny, for the illiberal man wishes all people to think as he does, even in trifles, and where he has power, will compel them to do so. If he is a father, he will esteem his children only as they accord with his own sentiments, or cease to oppose them; he will pay no attention to their feelings, pleasures, or sentiments, if they differ from his own, and will estimate all their merit by its conformity to his own standard.

Illiberality of sentiment is not limited to any rank or station, for the great are often more illiberal than their inferiors, and there is no species of illiberality more disgusting than that of people who live in what they please to call the world; they consider every man who is not of their own set and circle, as nobody, or one whom nobody knows. Whatever be his talents, virtues, and acquirements, like good works without faith, they are counted dead, if he has not a knowledge of what is called the world; that is to say, an acquaintance with a certain rank of people, and the places of a fashionable resort; and this contempt for the vulgar, as they are called, is now considered as the test of good breeding among people in

higher life. Formerly, a general civility to all ranks was the mark of polished manners; but now it is enough to be well received by a certain set, and the rest of the world are considered as heathens and barbarians. In the choice of his society, every man, no doubt, has a right to exercise his own discretion, and to consult his own pleasure, but those who appear in public places, where there must be a mixture of ranks, with some small shades of difference, are certainly expected to treat all persons, in whom there is nothing peculiarly disgusting, with liberality and respect, and not to confine their civility to those only with whom they are particularly acquainted, which is, in fact, to say, "You are not good enough to speak to us, therefore keep your distance." Such a want of liberality tends to make the great odious, and to lessen the veneration for superior rank, which can only be preserved by superior good manners and affability.

The most common and the most pardonable species of illiberality, is that which measures other people's ideas of happiness by our own; it is narrow minded, but it is natural, for self is the first thing with every man, and what makes him happy he easily thinks must make others so. Some men consider riches essential to hap-

piness, others believe a certain rank or station in life indispensible to comfort, and think the slightest variation from it must be misery. How often have I heard a young man or a woman, who has married a few degrees below that which they were brought up in, reprobated and pitied. "Oh, poor thing!" says some good-natured old lady, who never was in a house worse than her own, and has all the comfort that money can procure her, without exertion or trouble, "O, how I pity her! however, she has no one to blame, it is all her own fault," when perhaps the poor creature is far happier than those who insult her with their pity. Tho' not rich, she may be contented, and if her enjoyments are not costly, they may be refined, simple, and elegant. To let people be happy in their own way, is a mark of true liberality, and if they are not happy, to endeavour to make them so, is kindness and benevolence.

No species of illiberality is more cruel in its nature, and more pernicious in its effects, than that which arises from the rigid virtue of women, when exercised towards the failings and errors of their own sex, for tho' the modesty and purity of the female character cannot be too scrupulously guarded, it is by no means requisite for that end, that even the utmost cri-

minality which the law allows, should be visited with perpetual punishment by the virtuous part of female society, when it is once atoned for by matrimony and subsequent good conduct. A street walker may become a virtuous woman, and I have no doubt which deserves the more severe condemnation; the woman who has sinned against chastity, and atoned for her fault, or the woman who refuses to forgive her; the former has perhaps both feeling and passion to plead in her defence, the latter can be actuated only by a bad heart, and she who refuses to forgive, cannot hope to be forgiven. To associate with women who live in open defiance of decency, is to break down all the fences of female virtue and decorum, but when repentance and amendment have in some measure atoned for past offences, it is a crime on the part of the virtuous to be rigidly severe, and to exclude the reformed from their society. Some actions, which are harshly called sins, will admit of much extenuation, and there are circumstances under which even adultery ceases to be a crime.

A liberal, candid, and ingenuous man, with a moderate share of talents, who has any weight in society by his rank or fortune, is of much more use in his generation than the greatest

statesman or warrior that ever existed; for good men are much more wanted in the world than great ones. It is sufficient for one man in ten million to be a great man; but one in a thousand is too few to be good.

The illiberality of learned men is not less frequent, nor less disgusting than that of others, yet certainly more excusable, for nothing has a greater tendency to make men think well of themselves, than the possession of superior knowledge; it is natural that those who have in general fewer opportunities of comparing their talents and acquirements with the rest of mankind than others have, should be apt to estimate them at too great a price, and depreciate the merits of others. Nothing tends to soften the violence of prejudice so much as an extensive acquaintance with mankind in all ranks and degrees; yet it is not altogether wonderful (tho' certainly not defensible), that they, who after the most extended knowledge of the world, feel their own superiority, and see it confessed by others, should sometimes be arrogant or contemptuous towards their inferiors.

Similarity of opinion is often mistaken for liberality of sentiment, and we are apt to conclude, that they who think as we do, think liberally; yet this mistake does infinite harm,

for it deceives us with the idea of acting with propriety, while we are doing exactly the reverse. The dissenter thinks every churchman must be illiberal, while those of his own persuasion he considers as men of enlarged sentiments. Liberality, however, does not consist in a man's own opinions, but in the tenderness and respect which he shews to those who differ from him; it is not what we think or believe, but what we think of others, that makes us deserve the name of liberal; for tho' freedom from prejudice is one part of liberality, yet to respect the prejudices of others is a greater, and it is certainly that part which most contributes to the peace, comfort, and pleasure of society.

We are apt, by a very common mistake, to confound indifference with liberality, and a man who has no opinions of his own, is often said to be liberal to those of others—a degree of praise to which he has properly no claim, for the most liberal men are generally the most tenacious and best convinced of their own opinions, and as they feel how much it cost them to arrive at conviction, they pardon with more ease the mistakes of others. There are some men who have never given themselves the trouble to think much on any subject, yet

if they interfere not with other people's opinions, pass in the world for very liberal, good sort of men, and are never troubled with doubts or difficulties; they look steadily to their interest, and generally succeed in obtaining respect, consideration, and money.

Liberality of sentiment is scarcely consistent with any establishment of religion, for the fundamental article of them all is, the belief of their own superior excellence; yet it is not on this account alone that they are illiberal, (for this belief, in philosophy, is thoroughly consistent with the fullest indulgence to others) but in those establishments which are well endowed, the riches of the superior clergy induce them to entertain a mean opinion of those who dissent from the faith of the church; for the debasing effect of interest on the human mind is such, that we generally despise those who are superior to its temptations. The dissenter is not so much laughed at by the haughty churchman on account of his difference of opinion, as for his tattered coat and humble dwelling; for the patience with which he submits to the frowns of fortune, while he sees others enjoying her smiles; such is the illiberality with which delicacy of conscience is regarded by the degraded votaries of interest and pre-

ferment. The intolerant and illiberal spirit of the Romish church is now almost extinct, adversity has humbled her, and taught her forbearance and tenderness for the belief of others; she is now content to enjoy her own in quiet, without insisting upon its being received by all the rest of mankind, on pain of being condemned to eternal punishment. The protestant establishment seems to take place of her ancient rival, in sentiments of intolerance, but the time is fast approaching, when the liberality of true philosophy will teach her moderation and forbearance; and when all the persecuting statutes which she caused to be enacted will be erased from our civil code, and dissenters of all sorts will enjoy the utmost freedom of thought and expression. The church herself will, in time, give way to the progress of information, and even now her boasted and pre-eminent utility can no longer be maintained, when it is acknowledged that two-thirds of the nation are dissenters. There will soon be neither dissenters nor churchmen, but all men will be of one religion, the religion of reason, or true self-interest well understood.

Liberality of sentiment is the result of the free exercise of our reason, for the more this faculty is cultivated, the more ready we are to

make allowance for the errors and excesses of our fellow-creatures, nor is there any danger to be apprehended from its most unlimited exercise; it may endanger many establishments which were formed in ages of ignorance, but it can never injure the happiness of society; it may oppose our prejudices, but it can never deprive us of any thing truly valuable; because it tends to the highest improvement of our nature. The love of liberty and the love of power are so nearly allied, that in some minds it is almost impossible to separate them, hence it is commonly said that a republican is always a tyrant; but a man of just and liberal mind will be as much averse to tyrannize over others as he will be unwilling to let others tyrannize over him; nevertheless, he will take care to maintain all the authority he has a right to, in his paternal and civil relations.

To bear to hear the truth, either of ourselves or of our friends, is the mark of a liberal and cultivated mind. In every human being there is a mixture of good and evil in different proportions, and therefore to expect praise unalloyed, for the whole or any part of our conduct, is narrow minded and unmanly; for so long as men continue to have different habits and pursuits, they will view the same actions in

different lights, and praise or censure accordingly. A liberal man will make allowance for this difference of opinion, and be content with the praises of those whom he wished to please. Such a man is impartial in all his sentiments, and never suffers his judgment to be directed by narrow or private motives, but shews an equal tendenerness for the failings of one man as of another, and considers, that however ridiculous any man's sentiments or conduct may appear, yet that they are the result of his impressions, and consequently cannot be altered but by contrary impressions, and, therefore, tho' he may wish to reason or laugh him out of his follies, he will forbear to insult or injure. A liberal man will never be a party man, nor will he ever believe or reject any opinions from private, interested, or personal attachments; he will never be hasty to believe evil reports, even of his enemies, for as he will always be desirous to act from a knowledge of the truth and the actual state of things, he will never hastily give credit to what may be false, for any thing he knows to the contrary. Were this disposition more general, we should seldom see private quarrels either long or violent, for what is it that gives importance to trifles in all such disputes, but the readiness with which peo-

ple tell and believe all they hear, and the eagerness with which they listen to any ill-natured story, to the prejudice of another. The excess of liberality is illiberal when it forbids us to censure with just warmth and indignation, the excesses of vice or meanness.

A liberal man will never suffer his sentiments to be biassed by national or local attachments, nor even by those of kindness or friendship, but will be as ready to reprove the faults of his countrymen, or friends, as those of any other individuals, and this he may do without any breach of affection or friendship, for neither of these requires us to surrender the free use of our opinion. It is only men of weak and narrow minds, who conceive themselves bound to defend their friends on all occasions, and at all hazards.

There is no species of illiberality more strikingly offensive, than that which gives an unjust preference to our own country, or to past times. The Greeks called all nations barbarians but themselves, and there are few modern nations who do not think their own country superior to any other. To love the place and the people where we have been born and educated, is consistent with the natural effect of early impressions, and if those im-

pressions have been pleasant, it is impossible to do otherwise, but to give them upon all occasions, and at all times such a preference to others, as to think nothing excellent which is not in some measure connected with them, either by nature or resemblance, shews a want of reflection, or a degree of obstinacy, totally inconsistent either with true philosophy or manly liberality. The privilege of age, or the pity due to those who have lost the friends and companions of their youth, may induce us to pardon the talkative, overbearing partiality of those who think nothing excellent but in past times, and despise the present generation compared with those who have lived before us; but there is little excuse for those who praise the times which they know only by report, and seem to exalt the ancients merely to depress the moderns. It matters not to me what is a man's country, his religion or his opinions.—Is he an honest man, is he a good man, is he a great man, is he a liberal man, is he a learned man, is he a pleasant man? Is he all or any one of these, and I will regard him in proportion to his merits, and never enquire whence he comes, what he believes, nor who are his relations.—But if he is dishonest, illiberal, proud, mean,

servile, or unjust, I will spurn him and despise him, tho' he were descended from kings, or distinguished by wealth and fashion.

To be liberal in money, deserves little praise compared with liberality of sentiment; the one frequently arises from ostentation and vanity, the other can only be the result of a cultivated mind, or a generous heart, for it respects the feelings, prejudices, and sufferings of others; it pays many debts which are not strictly obligations of justice; it supplies the defects of law, and, where all other motives cease to operate, liberality enjoins purity in our own conduct, and that candid interpretation of other men's, which, more than all our virtues, tends to sweeten and adorn society. A liberal man will be no less tardy to condemn, than others are to acquit; he will, therefore, never pass a censure on whole bodies of men for the faults of a few, or even of many individuals, but will estimate every man by his own merits, and not by those of his countrymen or acquaintance. In relieving the poor, he will consider their mental as well as their bodily wants, and if he sometimes meets with ingratitude, greediness, or cunning, will impute them to poverty and ignorance, and when he considers how little the

best education does for the rich, he will not wonder that the poor, who have none, can do so little for themselves in subduing their evil propensities; he will remember that almsgiving is not the whole of charity, but that the more estimable parts are moderation and forbearance. A liberal man will always be ready to receive advice, when well intended, and suppose others to act from good motives, till he knows to the contrary; for tho', in the rude commerce of the world, he must meet with many who have no regard for any thing but their own sordid interest, he will not, on that account, be more inclined to suspicion, but forbear to think men dishonest, till he finds out their treachery; thus he will preserve his own happiness, and constantly avoid unjustly injuring the characters of others; for he who is prone to suspicion must always be unhappy, and frequently unjust. The illiberal man, on the contrary, with a dull head and a cold heart, mistrusts all around him, and not being able to distinguish the true characters of men, thinks all alike dishonest; supicion serves him in the place of wisdom, and not knowing whom to trust, he trusts no one.

The greatest happiness arising from liberality of sentiment is, that it excludes all the mean and

contemptible passions, for it is impossible that a man who fully exercises his reason, should be subject to the low suggestions of envy, jealousy, or malice, either in public or private. To enter into a noble competition with our rivals, either in fame or honor, is worthy of a great and liberal mind; to be envious of the superiority of others, is weak, illiberal, and contemptible. Emulation creates exertion and enterprize, but envy and jealousy can arise only from conscious weakness or timid submission; he who emulates, is generous; he who envies, is mean and wicked; to admire a rival, is magnanimous, to hate him, is cruel and contemptible. To detract from the merits of our adversaries, or to refuse them their due share of praise, is the mark of a weak, narrow, and disingenuous mind; it shews a want both of intellect and integrity. To refuse to acknowledge the kindnesses we have at any time received, is not less illiberal and pitiful—it is a false pride and a real meanness. Few men keep a strict account of what they have gained solely by their own exertions, and few for what they are indebted to others—yet justice, as well as liberality, repuires that this account should be fairly balanced. There is more true dignity of mind in acknowledging an obligation, than in con-

ferring it; and yet the generality of men like better to confer kindnesses than to receive them, for the one gives an idea of superiority, the other of inferiority. There are some men who will sooner forgive an injury than an obligation.

Nothing tends more to enlighten mankind, and to render the intercourse among them free and unrestrained, than that ingenuous openness which banishes all useless mystery, secrecy, and reserve. Every profession has its secrets, and some which cannot be divulged; but all attempts to encrease them, and to keep up any disguise, where none is requisite, are mean and illiberal, and savour more of the narrow spirit of a sect than the enlightened sentiments of a liberal philosophy. Secrecy is the paltry resource of a narrow mind to give itself consequence, and it generally happens, that where much is pretended, there is little to conceal, for men of noble minds are open and unreserved.

The natural propensity of mankind to prefer themselves on all occasions, and those perverse institutions of society which favor too much the accumulation of wealth and power, are perpetually counteracting the efforts of enlightened minds to propagate liberal sentiments,

and it is only by the force of strong and repeated impressions that they can be preserved. Mankind are engaged in a perpetual struggle with each other, and ever must be, from the nature of things, as will be shewn hereafter, and therefore the utmost that can be expected from the best moral principles and advice, is to diminish the sum of evil by the introduction of an opposite good, for evil can never be wholly eradicated from the system. To acquire sentiments of liberality, is not the work of a day, nor a month, but of years; they are generally the fruit of early instruction, for those opinions which we acquire in our youth make the deepest impression, and are longest retained. It is of great consequence, therefore, that the passions and opinions of young people should be early submitted to the discipline of reason, that they should be early taught to see things in their true light, and attach no exclusive merit to any sectarian principles of religion; for nothing tends so much to inflame the worst of our passions, and narrow the greatest minds, as religious bigotry. The strongest argument for religious liberality, and mutual forbearance, is the great diversity of religions throughout the world, and the confidence with which they are believed by their different adherents,

They cannot all be true; and as they all exclude each other from the favor of heaven, it is much more reasonable to suppose that they are all false; to believe otherwise is to make God the author of injustice and cruelty, by condemning men to eternal punishment for disbelief in what, from their education and prejudices, they have never had the means of knowing. To suppose that he regards them all with an equal eye of benevolence, as so many different attempts to obtain his favor, is liberal and consistent, and in this light they are all from him; but to suppose that he has revealed one, and punishes all who believe the rest, is to make him partial, cruel, and unjust. Let every man, who believes in a divine Creator, endeavour to please him, by loving his fellow-creatures, and whatever be his religion, whether Deism, Mahometanism, or Christianity, it will do no harm, and may do good; but whoever persecutes, hates, or oppresses those of different opinions from his own, his religion cannot be from heaven, because it disturbs the peace of society. To teach young people, that no religion which promotes the happiness of man can be contrary to the will of what is called God, is to give them a lesson of liberality which will do them more good than volumes of divinity; and

whatever religion cannot stand that test, may safely be pronounced false, for so extensive is the right to the freedom of religious worship, that even toleration itself is intolerance. So much for youth. To those who are more advanced in life, and have formed opinions and prejudices unfavourable to other people's belief, I should recommend the perusal of the most liberal writers. If they are churchmen, they should read the works of Hooker, Taylor, Mede, Locke, Hoadley, Middleton, and Shipley; if they are dissenters, let them study Lardner, Watts, and Doddridge; and if they are infidels, let them read the last chapter of Volney's Ruins, and they will learn to limit their researches to the material world, to leave the world of spirits to more intelligent beings, and be satisfied that all religion consists in morality.

HUMAN INCONSISTENCIES.

THE great moral maxim of self-knowledge is of all others most difficult to be practised, for every man, in estimating his own character, is so apt to be blinded by passion, partiality, and prejudice, that he rarely discovers those faults in himself which he sees so quickly in another; no man is alone equal to this arduous task, and even to derive advantage from the advice of others, requires a previous state of mind, cleared from the mists of passion and the blindness of self-love. It is a great art to think ourselves in the wrong; to the want of this disposition we must attribute the inefficacy of the best moral and religious writings to smooth the inequalities of human conduct, and to preserve the world from the rude collisions of passion and interest. Many men read, but few take to themselves what they think applies only to others; they acknowledge the

excellence of the advice, but they prevent its efficacy, either by their refusal or neglect to apply to their own conduct; few men intentionally correct their errors, but imperceptibly receive the impression of those with whom they converse; so that the effects of moral instruction are not to be perceived in individuals, but in the general progress of improvement from one age to anothor.

In examining the various features of the human character, there is none more striking than the inconsistency which in some degree marks the conduct and opinions of every man living. There is no man whose character is consistent throughout; none are wholly good or wholly bad; some are betrayed into contradictions by passion and prejudice; others, by custom, interest, weakness, persuasion of friends, vanity, or ignorance; and in a world where so many objects pull different ways, it is impossible for any man to act at all times honestly and consistently. If we look back into the world for a century past, we shall find that a great change has been operated for the better, in many notions which concern the happiness of man; yet this change was scarcely perceived at the time, and can only be discovered by marking its effects at certain distances. The pro-

gress of human improvement is like the hour-hand of a clock; we do not perceive it move, tho' we perceive that it has moved, and yet like the clock its progress is limited; there is a point beyond which it cannot extend; to that limit it has not yet arrived, when it has, it must be retrograde, for a certain portion of evil is requisite to keep down population to a level with the means of subsistence.

The happy effect of reason, in regulating the ebullitions of the passions, may be easily perceived by coolly surveying the progress of society. When individuals govern a nation, without any control from the general sentiments of the public, their whole life and administration will present a series of inconsistencies. Such is the history of arbitrary monarchies. In proportion as public opinion becomes enlightened and refined, the conduct of governments, whether monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical, becomes regular and steady; and tho' the force of time and prejudice sanctions many follies, yet they are not like those which are to be found in the infancy of the world when public and private reason were unformed. The inconsistencies which marked the great characters of former times, were those of passion and caprice, arising from the licence

of arbitrary power, but as ambition is more under the restraint of regulated government, she is forced to submit to accomplish her purposes by various, and sometimes opposite, means, and to pretend at least in her most daring projects to consult the public good. The difference is striking, and shews an improvement in the state of society, which is yet, indeed, capable of being still further improved.

The inconsistencies of human opinions and conduct are of two sorts, those which are public, and those which mark the characters of individuals in private. The former of these arise from a defective knowledge of the principles of truth and justice, which are uniform and consistent; the latter from the defects of education and the strength of the passions, for people who are guided solely by their passions, or their feelings, must for ever be guilty of inconsistencies.

The greatest inconsistency in public opinions which I mean to notice, is to be found in a generally received system of faith, which proclaims the mercy of the Deity, and the eternity of future punishments. Another striking inconsistency in received opinions is, a belief in the foreknowledge of God and the freewill of man, a belief which arises from a desire to

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reconcile a particular system of faith with the appearances of things. Not less inconsistent is the profession of christianity with the practice of war, yet we have seen these go hand in hand ever since the establishment of the church of Christ under Constanstine; nay, the sword has even been unsheathed in the name of christianity, an inconsistency so striking, as nothing but long experience could have compelled us to believe.—That men, forgetting their christian profession, and engrossed by the thoughts of ambition, should for a time have ceased to remember the meekness of their great Master, and plunged themselves and others into war, may perhaps, from the weakness of human nature, be palliated or excused; but that they should professedly draw the sword, for the sake of propagating and supporting a religion which refuses all such support, and appeals only to spiritual weapons, is an inconsistency which, however it may find an explanation in the perverseness of our nature, is certainly not very favorable to a belief in it's divine origin. The whole system of popery, and much of the protestant establishment, are utterly inconsistent with christianity, which they profess to believe, tho' they have been received and supported for many hundred

years, and yet find some defenders; but the influence of both is on the decline, and the force of truth and consistency is daily prevailing against all their adversaries.

Another inconsistency in the human character, not less striking than any of the former, is the difference frequently to be found between the public and private characters of men; and this is only to be accounted for, by proving that many public establishments, being founded, and consequently administered, on principles of iniquity and injustice, require from individuals of the best private morality the sacrifice of their honour and consistency to promote their temporal interest. Hence it is, that men, who in their private capacity abhor every thing cruel, tyrannical, or dishonest, not only sanction, but take a part in any thing, however disgraceful, which can forward their schemes of interest or ambition. Have we not daily instances of men, who, tho' the best friends, fathers, and husbands, will yet sign or execute commands which destroy the peace and happiness of thousands; and tho' they turn with horror from an act of cruelty, or weep with sympathy over a tale of woe, yet as statesmen or soldiers, never hesitate to embrue their pen or their hands in the blood of innocent and un-

known victims. And what is their motive or excuse? They must do their duty. To what enormities and inconsistencies may not men be reconciled by custom and interest? The man who will one day stretch out his hand to give alms to a sturdy beggar, may perhaps the next draw his sword against the life of a fellow-creature who has never offended nor injured him; and yet he will do all this without thinking he acts unjustly or inconsistently; he has been taught to do both, and he never thinks he can be doing wrong; so difficult a thing is self-knowledge, and so little consistency is there in actions which are the result of custom rather than of reflection.

Another striking inconsistency, of considerable moment, deserves also to be noticed, it is that which exists between the precepts of the gospel and the lives of the clergy; they either cannot or will not see it themselves, but it is evident to all those who are not blinded by interest or prejudice. The life and the precepts of Jesus Christ inculcated the most rigid self-denial, the utmost contempt for those good things of the world, which belong to the body rather than the soul, the strongest abhorrence of wealth, power, and dignity; and yet his modern successors, the christian clergy,

live in direct opposition to his example and his advice, pursuing all these vain delights with the utmost avidity, so that it is no uncommon thing to see them ambitious, haughty, and fond of power; seeking for temporal, as well as spiritual dignity; eager to amass wealth, to aggrandize their families, and increase their influence; insolent to their inferiors, and servile to those above them; fond of pleasure, and delighting in external splendor; and yet, with all this, professing themselves the servants of a humble Master, and the preachers of his word. They preach, indeed, but they do not practice; they preach patience to those who are in poverty, resignation to those who are afflicted, and humility to those who are in no danger of pride; yet they are themselves examples to the contrary of all that they teach; they warn their congregations against false philosophy, but say nothing about false religion; they call other men atheists, and are atheists themselves, for if they do not deny their God, they disobey him; they are Epicureans in their own sense of the word, for their study is earthly enjoyment and sensual pleasure. Did they pocket the emoluments of their profession quietly, and say nothing about Jesus Christ and his religion;

did they enjoy themselves without preaching mortification to others, they might at least avoid the sin of inconsistency; did they not call themselves the disciples of Jesus, they might pass for the disciples of Epicurus, and thus make their pleasure and their interest agree with each other; but while they profess in words what they deny in their practice, and insult their Maker while they deceive the world, they cannot well avoid bringing themselves and their establishment into merited contempt. Another inconsistency of this reverend body, not less striking, nor more defensible than those already mentioned, is the violence with which they attack the practice of duelling and defend the practice of war, and both on the principles of christianity; the reason of this is obvious; war is sanctioned by the conduct and maxims of statesmen, to whom the clergy are now as servile in their submission, as they were formerly imperious in their commands. Duelling is merely a concern of individuals, unsupported by authority, and therefore unconnected with the temporal interest of the clergy; but the same passions which occasion duelling, excite war, for war is generally the affair of a few ambitious men, who contrive to interest others in their quarrel; it rarely happens that two na-

tions unanimously and heartily quarrel with each other. Christianity, however, is equally averse to public and to private warfare, and therefore he that, speaking as a christian, expresses his abhorrence of the one, must, if he is consistent, do the same of the other, even in cases of self-defence. The greatest argument, both against war and duelling, on the principles of reason and morality, is the value of life; but this applies more strongly to the one than to the other, because the latter is generally a voluntary affair, while the former is a matter of compulsion. If the world were governed by reason, no man would think of taking away either his own life or that of another, but reason does not govern the world, and, therefore, men will most probably continue to destroy each other, whenever they are impelled to it, by their passion or their interest.

The inconsistencies in the conduct of public men have had the most pernicious effect on the interests of society, they have lessened that confidence in professions of patriotism which gave the people in all nations a security for their rights, have rendered them indifferent to all forms of government, and thus prepared them to submit to any; they have degraded the laudable competition for public confidence,

into a mere contest for power; they have debauched the virgin integrity of young politicians, have led them to suspect that liberty and virtue are but names, and taught them to believe that they have nothing to regard in life but their own sordid interest.

The man who at one time defends the principles of liberty, and at another the conduct of despotism, who is the advocate of the same men and the same measures he once reprobated, who is wavering, irresolute, and unsteady, who approves one part of a system and condemns another, vibrating for ever between his duty and his interest, if he is not a very weak man, is certainly dishonest, and such a man can only redeem his character with the world by his talents; but if he has neither talents nor honesty, is completely contemptible, he forfeits all claims to esteem, and is condemned to perpetual insignificance.

To conform outwardly to what we inwardly despise, is a species of inconsistency of all others the least pardonable, because it shakes the very foundations of morality; and to be punctilious in forms of respect, where we neglect important attentions, is the mean disguise of a bad and depraved heart. No man who does not act upon principle can be consistent

in his conduct; he will at one time be under the direction of interest, at another, of passion, at another, of prejudice, so that it will be impossible to say, in any given state of things, what will be his conduct; but he who is uniformly guided by honorable and independent principles, will, in all similar cases, act with uniform and steady integrity, so that even those who are personally unacquainted with him will be able to say how he will think and behave, in any particular case, either of public or of private importance.

The inconsistencies of private conduct, tho' they sometimes deserve the reprehension of the moralist, are not always of an injurious tendency; they are not, like those in public life, always contrary to the principles of justice, and, as they are frequently innocent, become the subject of ridicule rather than of reproof; yet, since those of a more serious nature often disturb the peace of families, and interrupt the harmony of social intercourse, it becomes the duty of every man who feels himself interested in the general happiness of society, to correct, as far as it is in his power, these moral deviations, by shewing the source from whence they arise, and the remedies most likely to prevent their destructive tendency. To those who are

of opinion that the seeds of vice and evil are sown in our earliest years, and that our future conduct greatly depends on education, it will be evident, that so far as all inconsistencies of character arise from violent passions, which force us to act in contradiction to reason, the only means of preventing these inconsistencies is, to mitigate the force of the passions at an early period. To eradicate them entirely is inconsistent with the order of nature and therefore impossible, yet to reduce these discordant elements to a harmonious unison with each other, so that their dissonance may be no greater than such as gives a relish to the harmony of music, is an attempt which, tho' at the first may appear impracticable, is not on that account to be abandoned, and every effort towards such an end will doubtless decrease its difficulty. Let it not be objected to this attempt, that it will occasion a tiresome uniformity of character, and finally destroy all pleasure arising from that interesting variety which we at present experience in the different scenes of the moral world, and, by reducing men to one common standard, tend to repress all the energies arising from great talents, and all the striking contrasts which mark the difference of our dispositions. Whoever supposes any

such consequence, must be ignorant of the true source of those pleasing varieties which human nature affords, and have dwelt with satisfaction only on those prominent and inconsistent oppositions which mark the worst of characters, and occasion surprize and disgust, rather than emotions of pleasure, arising from harmonious contrast. Whoever objected, to a fine piece of music, because the discords were not sufficiently striking? Whoever said of a fine painting, where the lights and shades were managed with the greatest dexterity, that they ought to be more strongly given?—No man of judgment but will say, that by these means the harmony of the whole would have been destroyed. The various characters in life may be compared to a fine picture, when by a due regulation of the passions, they form one harmonious whole; in each we experience all the pleasure arising from variety, without being hurt or offended by any harshness of contrast.

Among the many variable, inconsistent characters which appear in the world, there are few which meet with more friends, or whose failings are more readily excused, than the man who, tho' constantly the dupe of his passions, possesses many good qualities, and,

above all, what is called a good heart; which is no more than a certain generosity of temper, not easily moved by the grosser considerations of interest, with a certain degree of tenderness for the sufferings of others. A man of this character, tho' defective in all the relative duties of life, tho' grossly immoral and debauched, tho' negligent in the payment of his debts, and addicted to all the vices which can distress the feelings of a father, a mother, or a wife, yet, if he occasionally performs a few acts of generosity, and gives away his money with profusion and cheerfulness, such a man, by the courtesy of the world, is called an honest, good-humoured fellow, who is nobody's enemy but his own, and never did an ill-natured thing to any one. Such a man is generous, tho' he is unjust, he is often tender-hearted to the distressed, tho' he never hesitates to give pain to his nearest relations, by his vices and his follies; he lavishes thousands in the pursuit of his pleasures, and is inattentive to the wants of those who have suffered by his extravagance.—Tho' tender to the failings of others, and humane towards their distresses, when forced upon his notice, yet, to gratify his lust, he hesitates not to rob the virgin of her innocence, nor an aged parent of his only comfort and support; tho' com-

was rather considered as a place to display their persons than their religion, and as the beaux of those days were outwardly religious, the belles went to church rather to meet their admirers, than to adore their Maker. The elder ladies, however, were religious from disappointment, and, after being slighted by man, transferred all their love to God; they fled to their prayers as they did to their *liqueurs* for a source of comfort, when all others failed them. But tho' the one warmed their heads, the other never touched their hearts, for if in youth they were merely thoughtless, in old age they became ill-natured through vexation and disgust, and as all religion could not counteract the effects of disappointment, they let piety and malevolence go hand in hand, and sometimes said their prayers backwards. To a disappointed old maid, no day in the prayer-book can be so delightful as Ash-Wednesday, when she has the permission of the church to utter imprecations on her enemies. Such characters, tho' less frequently to be met with than they were fifty years ago, are not yet extinct; their contrasts are perhaps not so striking (for the manners of the times have softened some of the harsher features), yet it is not even now uncommon to see the appearance of piety

connected with all that is uncharitable and malevolent. Such must ever be the case, when the forms of religion are substituted for its spirit, and parents are more anxious to teach their children to say their prayers by rote, and go to church as a custom, than to subdue their passions, and impress them with sound principles of morality.

The inconsistencies into which men are led by the profession of christianity, arise chiefly from the extreme purity of its principles, contrasted with the violence of our passions, which it is unequal wholly to subdue; from the neglect of the spirit of christianity, occasioned by a mistaken attachment to external forms; and from a desire, in many zealous christians, to consider their religion as something superior to the control and direction of reason. To these three causes we must attribute the inconsistencies of those who, having no design to deceive others, are deceived themselves, and never compare their own conduct with that standard by which they constantly profess to be directed. To what else is it owing, that we see so many political fanatics, who pray to God for success in war, without examining the justice of their cause, and thank him for victories in which thousands of innocent men have perished?

Why do we so frequently see those who are wholesale dealers in human blood, and traffic in the miseries of mankind, who count on the success of a battle with the same coolness as an honest farmer on the event of his harvest, devout in their attendance on public prayer, and severe in their censures on those who neglect the same ceremonies? Why, but because these men have no religion in their hearts, and their respect for its forms is merely a prejudice.

The man, who having spent the week in all the legalized frauds of commerce, in over-reaching his competitors in trade, and rejoicing in the success of his schemes; and the man, who having been whole days and nights at a gaming table, with all his thoughts occupied on the means of beating his antagonist, and robbing him of his money, are not unfrequently seen at church on the Sunday, repeating, loudly and fervently, the tenth commandment, and the prayer which follows it; the first of which forbids us to covet other men's goods, and the other prays to God to write all his laws on our hearts.

The mysteries of christianity, however inconsistent with reason, have been believed, and are believed in, by some of the most enlightened men which this country ever produced, men

who, by the superior exertion of their faculties, have explored the arcana of nature, and fathomed the depths of intellectual philosophy. To account for this inconsistency, we must suppose, that being early impressed with the idea of a divine revelation, they conceived it impious to doubt what was delivered to them from so high an authority, and submitted their reason to their faith.

Among all the inconsistencies of the human character, there is none more essentially injurious than that which regards the treatment of our children. To behave to them at one time with unjust severity, and at another with fond indulgence, produces in them the same capricious temper, and renders them uncertain how to conduct themselves in order to avoid displeasure or secure esteem, and, at length, they become so regardless of either, as inevitably of lessen that respect for the parental character which is the only security for parental authority. By this means the firmest bond of society is loosened, and all the other social ties are no longer those of duty or affection, but merely of terror and constraint.

The effects of custom on the faculties of the mind are not less forcible than on those of he body; the weight we have been long accus-

tomed to lift, at length becomes lighter, that is, we do not feel it so heavy. In like manner, the feelings and the passions to which we have been long subject, are less perceived than those to which we are not so much accustomed. Hence it is, that we are more ready to tax the vices and foibles of others than our own; this propensity has been observed by many moralists, who look impartially on the affairs of the world, surveying, as from an eminence, the motly crowd beneath. The scripture has commanded us to pluck the beam from our own eye, before we find fault with the mote in another's; and the most ancient of heathen fabulists has told us, that Jupiter has given every man two wallets, the one placed behind him, containing his own faults, and one before, filled with those of others. In this apologue there is much wisdom and knowledge of mankind, for when once the worst of our passions and foibles have become familiar to us, we lose all idea of their deformity, consider them only as an indispensible part of our character, and as natural to us as the form of our personal features; but when we perceive the same defects in others, we never see them with the partiality of self-love, nor the dimness of continual custom, they strike us with their natural deformity, and we blame with freedom

the negligence of those who have suffered them to arrive at such an enormous height,—we wonder that people have so little control over their passions, and say what a shocking thing it is that their education has been so much neglected, or that, when they came to be older, they did not see their faults. Tho' some men are honest enough to acknowledge their failings, yet the generality of the world are disposed to blame in others that which they are most prone to themselves. The merchant rails at his competitor for being fond of money. The gamester says, what an unhappy thing it is to be addicted to play, for it wastes both a man's time and his health. The pedant laughs at pedantry, and exclaims, "How ridiculous it is for a man to be fond of shewing his learning." The censorious old maid, after destroying the reputation of half her acquaintance, declares, she detests nothing so much as slander; and the antiquated prude thinks it mighty silly in young people to be formal and reserved.

Whether many inconsistencies in the natural and moral faculties of man, arise from the defect of his nature, or from want of sufficient improvement, cannot easily be determined; for instance, there are some men who have an excellent ear for music and none for reading, and

others who read and recite with the utmost propriety, without having any idea of musical rythm. Men who have shewn themselves the firmest opposers of tyranny, have, in their turn, become tyrants to those beneath them; of this there are two remarkable instances, one of which is furnished by history, and the other by the present times. Luther and Bonaparte were both of them champions of liberty, and, considering the difference of their power, resembled each other in the rigid violence with which they dictated to others who submitted to their authority. The causes of such inconsistency will be found in that love of power, and the tendency to abuse it, which are common to human nature, and which no art or philosophy can eradicate, tho' they may dininish its force.

Another inconsistency which has been often remarked and censured, is, the difference between an author's conduct and his writings; this, perhaps, admits of greater palliation than any of those already mentioned, for when a man sits down to write, with a view of instructing society, it is to be supposed that he will endeavour to see things in their best light, and elevate his ideas above the common conduct of the world, that he may hold up a pattern of excellence for general imitation, to improve and

enlighten those for whom it is intended; no wonder, therefore, if he should fall short of what he allows no one has ever yet attained. And if, in mixing with the tumult and confusion of the world, or even in the intercourse of private society, he should be found not always strictly to conform to the precepts he lays down in his writings, he may be pardoned for a few deviations, particularly when those who censure him are not the most correct in their conduct, nor refined in their ideas; but any gross violations of his own advice, any glaring contradictions to his own notions of right, will less deserve excuse, as it will naturally be expected, that the custom of reflecting coolly and at leisure, on the vices and follies of the world, should produce a considerable degree of deliberation and prudence in his own conduct, and render him not so liable to be hurried away by the temptation to which others, less accustomed to reflection, are continually exposed.—The remarks which have here been applied to authors, will serve with no less force for divines, as they also are responsible for the advice of which they are supposed to be the authors; yet I believe it will be found, that many of our best preachers are not remarkable for the general regularity and integrity of our lives. The ex-

istence of the slave trade among free and christian nations, is an inconsistency which can only be accounted for on this principle, that as neither reason nor scripture can wholly overcome the force of the passions, men must be compelled to be honest either by fear or interest.

Among all the passions which force men into inconsistency, the love of power, which is the first, and the most common, impels them to the most violent extremes; it makes them cunning, boisterous, pliant, imperious, and humble; it prompts them to the most opposite schemes, and suggests the most contradictory methods of obtaining its purposes; it urged Richlieu to the odious policy of suppressing the protestants in France, and of supporting them in Germany; in public and in private it has the same effect of making men too often forget both their duty and their interest.

The love of fame is not a less dangerous passion, nor productive of fewer inconsistencies, for it seeks to gain its object by so many different means, that they must frequently be at variance with each other. To be the friend of liberty, and the friend of her persecutors; to be a bawler against corruption, and employ it in secret; to love equality, and to despise those

beneath him; to profess independence, and yet court the great; to love the species, and hate his rivals, are inconsistencies which may be found in the same man, without subjecting him to the charge of duplicity; for in such a man, the desire of being noticed, the force of early associations, and prejudices, may be so mixed and blended with principles which he has got by halves, and doctrines which he does not comprehend, as to make it doubtful whether he most deserves our pity or contempt.

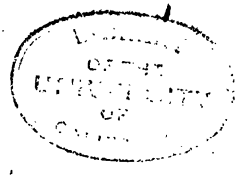
To prefer the charge of inconsistency against him who changes his opinions gradually and soberly, under the force of that conviction which arises from deliberate examination and research, is neither liberal nor candid; but when we see a man fly from one extreme to the other either in his religious or political sentiments, we are justified in suspecting him to want either wisdom or honesty. All sudden changes of opinion or conduct, excite suspicion of weakness or criminality, for conviction is not the work of a day, but of years; particularly if a man is rewarded for his sentiments, either by preferment or praise, we have a right to suspect that his motives are not always justifiable; interest may have impelled him in the one case, and vanity in the other.

The moral beauty of consistency is not its only recommendation; in the ornaments of the person, and the operations of art, it is equally pleasing. A variety of colours is not more disgusting in our dress, than a heterogeneous mixture of parts in architecture, sculpture, music, poetry, gardening, and painting. Simplicity, uniformity, and consistency, are requisite to elegance and pleasure; whoever neglects these either in his moral or professional conduct, stands a great chance to be ridiculed if not despised; for he must be weak, ignorant, or dishonest.

The remedy for all these dangerous and unjustifiable irregularities of conduct remains now to be considered; and it is, in our own power; for, if we do not fail to exercise our reason, there is little doubt that it is sufficient to correct most of the evils and the vices of the world; but the difficulties which obstruct its cultivation and use, are so numerous and powerful, that it seems almost a hopeless undertaking to attempt to enforce the necessity of its early and constant operation. The whole system of education is so entirely calculated to cherish the existing prejudices of the world, both in public and private conduct, and to check the cultivation of reason beyond what is requisite to embrace

and defend the corruptions of society, that it may, at first sight, seem impossible to expect any further or greater improvement; yet the case is not so hopeless as some men imagine, for tho' reason never will, nor ever can be the sole guide of the world, it is possible that her influence may be much extended, and the state of mankind considerably improved.

To what extent the nature of man is capable of improvement, is a question which has not yet received its full discussion. One sect of philosophers has maintained that it is unlimited, and that man is capable of arriving not only at political but moral equality; that men may not only become equal among each other, but equal in themselves; that they may be void of passions, and even physical wants, and that in time they may become immortal, without changing their state. This is, to be sure, an effectual method of reconciling all inconsistencies, but it will probably never be attained, and posterity, instead of profiting by the theory of the philosopher, will smile at his perverse ingenuity. Without saying how far improvement may be extended, it is fairly allowable, from past experience, to affirm that man is a being capable of improvement to a certain extent, tho' not of unlimited excel-



fence, and that every age will lessen his inconsistencies, both public and private. When individuals can be brought to examine their own conduct more impartially, and tax their own actions with the same severity that they now do those of others, there can be no doubt, that many of the evils arising from defective information, and blind self-love, will be lessened; but without a great previous change in the state of society this can hardly be expected, and, considering the present state of things, this change may seem every day more hopeless. Before men can be rendered generally more pure and virtuous, the mode of education must be greatly altered; it must teach men to think rather than to repeat; to exercise the mind, more than the memory, and to reason before they act, either in a public or private station; the force of external temptations must be weakened, and men must be early taught to look into themselves, before they look into others. All this requires much time, much instruction, and much adversity to accomplish; for there can be no doubt that the wealth which is now so unequally divided, creates divisions, animosities, and struggles among men, which prevent them from looking into their own hearts, and keep them for ever intent

upon external objects, which engross all their thoughts, and divert them from that self-possession and recollection which are requisite for their acting justly, either to themselves or others. No sounder remedy can be found for inconsistency of character, than that constant examination of ourselves, which keeps us intent upon our mental and social improvement; nor can man ever attain to the excellence of his nature, and avoid the fickleness of vanity and ambition, without humbling himself in his own mind, and comparing his progress in virtue with his original ignorance.

Inconsistency arises almost wholly from the passions, and can, therefore, never wholly be removed. The present age has hardly much to hope for, but improvement may be the lot of posterity; the succeeding generation may, perhaps, enjoy a purer state of society, and derive advantage from the lessons of experience; yet as there is a term beyond which human nature cannot advance, neither nations nor individuals can be completely wise, happy, and virtuous; there must and ever will be a mixture of good and bad in all men, and all nations; some will excel in one art or quality, and some in another, for if all were equally great and good, population would never be

thinned by vice and misery, and the world could never support all the happy creatures it contained. It seems, however, not hazarding too much to say, that since the invention of printing, the world can never relapse into a state of barbarism, nor submit to the dominion of one man, or of one nation.

THE IMAGINATION.

THE imagination is the faculty from which, of all others, we derive the greatest pleasure, and perhaps the greatest pain; it is placed in the medium between reason and the senses, and they all, in different degrees, contribute to our enjoyment. The passions and feelings have their share in our composition, but reason is supreme above them all. Imagination is of two sorts; that which is exercised in the ordinary events of life, and relates to the past and the future, and that which has no concern with things present or to come, but exerts its power in regions of its own creation. By the force of imagination, we transport our minds to past scenes which we have never witnessed, and which now exist only in the pages of the historian or the annalist. We are present at the sedition of the Gracchi, or the murder of Cicero; we glow with fancied enthusiasm at

the bravery of Leonidas, the firmness of Regulus, or the self-devoting patriotism of Codrus, Mutius, or the Decii; we live over again the times that are past, and survey the history of the world in minature, by the wonderful faculty of conceiving that which is described, and transferring all our knowledge of the present to the imagination of past events. Reason is thus instructed by a power inferior to herself, and history lends aid to philosophy, by presenting subjects for meditation and improvement. By the power of memory, we recal the events of our own lives, but we have no power to do more. It is imagination alone which enables us to look back for a hundred or a thousand years, and gives us a world, "beyond the visible diurnal sphere;" to her alone we are indebted for the varied pleasures and advantages derived from the contemplation of great actions, of glorious sufferings, and of virtue honorably rewarded.

Delightful to the imagination is the connection which she forms between local presence and past transactions, between those persons and events which history has recorded in her brightest pages, and the places where they lived, or have rendered illustrious. The man who could visit, without more than common emotion, the glorious straits of Thermopylæ, or

the ruins of Crotona, is little to be envied for the regularity of his feelings, and less to be admired for his love of liberty and learning; for he who is not warmed with generous enthusiasm when he feels himself on the very spot where liberty sustained her severest struggles, or philosophy taught her purest lessons, may be an honest man, but he can hardly be either disinterested or amiable. By the power of association, which awakens the fancy and gives birth to a train of corresponding ideas, even the researches of the antiquarian may be rescued from contempt, for a desire to be acquainted with the dress, the manners, the amusements, the taste, and the buildings of our ancestors, when proceeding from a love of former times, and not from mere idle curiosity, becomes a laudable pursuit, and in such a case, a respect for antiquity is a respect for human nature. The imagination of man is never exalted to so high a pitch as in the contemplation of a great first cause; hence it arises, that the most sublime works of art are those which are consecrated to religious worship; a slender foundation, on which however, great buildings have been erected. The temples of Egypt, of Greece, and of modern Europe under popery, are justly considered as the most stupendous

monuments of human ingenuity; among the latter, our Gothic cathedrals, as they are vulgarly called, excite in all minds of sensibility and taste, the strongest ideas of grandeur and magnificence, and, independent of any religious feeling, it is impossible to contemplate even their remains, without admiration and wonder. The elegant simplicity of some, the exuberant ornament of others, and the immensity of them all, seem to have engrossed all the taste and labor of the ages in which they were built, and had the priests who now posses them, either zeal or knowledge equal to those who first raised them, they might almost endure to eternity.

The power of imagination in recalling the past, is not more wonderful than in anticipating the future, so that it has been said, and I believe with truth, that the greatest part of our enjoyment consists rather in the anticipation of what we expect, than in its actual possession. How many gay and delightful prospects, which fancy had drawn to our view, have vanished, or been darkened, when the hour of fruition arrived! In the bright season of youth, when all is expectation and delight, how anxiously do we look forward to scenes of fancied delight, which, when enjoyed, pall upon the sense, and

leave us only languor and disappointment! How earnestly do we renew the faded lines of imagination, which becoming more vivid and brighter than ever, still lead only to the repetition of satiety! Must we not acknowledge then, that the future, which is the widest region of imagination, affords us the greatest pleasure, as the past can never be recalled, and the present is seldom enjoyed? To imagination we are indebted for those pleasing day-dreams, or waking visions, those castles in the air, which, tho' reason will not allow us to rely on, she does not forbid us to indulge; by these we are withdrawn from the tedious or painful sensations of the present, and are soothed or amused, during many a lingering hour of wakefulness, sickness, and sorrow. In these the lover enjoys, with fancied delight, the future converse and company of his mistress, in scenes of happiness which life can never afford; the merchant riots in visionary prospects of gain, which, in the common course of things, he can never acquire; the philosopher indulges in dreams of benevolence, which the cold, rude, coarse selfishness of the world renders for ever impossible; the ambitious man extends his views of gratification beyond the sphere of earthly possibility; and the man who

is satisfied even with moderate enjoyments, delights himself with the anticipation of that tranquil happiness, which the ill-natured chances of the world never place within his reach. Life is thus passed away in visions of future bliss, and death overtakes us before they are realized. Whatever is not capable of being demonstrated by reason, or by evidence, is derived from the imagination. To imagination all systems of religious belief owe their origin; and however, we may admire them as poetical fictions, we cannot but deplore their fatal influence on society, by the dissensions and divisions they have created among men.

To the power of imagination religion owes all her pleasures, and all her terrors, as futurity exists only in idea; for tho' faith can work wonders as well as believe them, yet no founder of a religion can do more than promise or denounce, and tho' his followers may believe in his word or his power, he can never alter the nature of things; even a Deity cannot make the future to be present, nor convert probability into certainty.

The pleasures of hope have their birth from imagination, and who that has ever experienced their delights, will fail to bless that power to which he is indebted for the brightest part of

his existence? The lively sensations of hope cheer us in the gloomy hours of sickness and solitude, and add a charm even to prosperity. Imagination, enlightened by hope, leads us through the dreary journey of life with chearfulness, and reconciles us to the sufferings of the present; for who could support the *tedium* of an existence spent in a state of banishment from the beauties of nature and art, and the pleasures of intellectual society, unless the bright beams of imagination cheered him by the prospect of future happiness, and hope gave him the earnest of enjoyment? Without imagination, hope has no food to feed on, and without hope, imagination will soon perish.

The future prospects and condition of our children afford a wide field for imagination, and give the anxious parent many alternate hours of uneasiness and pleasure. To picture in our minds their advancement and happiness, their success in the acquisition of fame, wealth, honors, respect, or learning, just as suits our ideas of what is good and right; to fancy we behold in them the friends of mankind, the amiable patterns of conjugal life, or the learned instructors of future times, repays us in some measure for the care of their education, and gives us a momentary, transient delight, tho'

our wishes should never be accomplished. It aids and supports us, too, in the great work of instruction, and gives us ideas as to the views or principles by which their education should be directed; for he who has never formed in his mind the idea of something superior to what he is used to, will never arrive at any great degree of excellence. Tho' the future condition of our children affords a boundless scope for imagination and pleasing conjecture, yet it ought not to be indulged in, to the prejudice of useful exertion; we should not be content with imagining what they may be, but endeavour to make them such as we desire; for imagination may mislead, if not tempered by judgment, and restrained by prudence.

Having hitherto considered the power of fancy solely with regard to the common affairs of life, past and future, it is time now to speak of those operations which do not strictly belong to any of these descriptions, and yet partake of the nature of them all. The imagination is awake, when the reason and the senses are asleep, and, in the visionary pictures of a dream, affords us delights which our dull existence can never equal, and heaven itself can never exceed. Who that has conversed in sleep with the dear, departed friends of his

youth, or the grave companions of his riper years; who that has enjoyed, in ideal rapture, the prospect of countries more beautiful than nature ever formed, does not lament to return to the tedious monotony of life, and change these gay visions of sunshine for the dim twilight of existence? Yet, on the other hand, the frightful forms which imagination, under the pressure of bodily uneasiness, frequently presents to us in sleep, make us rejoice to find that it was all a dream, and feel ourselves released from ideal difficulties and positive suffering.

To imagination we are indebted for all the ornaments and embellishments of life. Taste and judgment can only direct, but imagination gives birth to all that is elegant, grand, and beautiful. To her we owe the varied power of music, the lively creations of poetry, the animated effects of painting, the statuary that seems to live and breathe, the delightful productions of natural landscape, the sublime conceptions of architecture, and the living efforts of the actor. In all these arts, imagination exercises her power by two different methods; by the first she is active in those who create works of genius, and by the second, she is only excitable in those who receive pleasure from her

operations. The one is the effect of nature, the other of cultivation, for a man may recieve delight from works of fancy, who has no power to exert that faculty originally. The musical composer, who, without a lively, rich, and fertile imagination, sits down to the work of composition, may run the changes on the gamut, and produce something very wonderful and difficult to perform, but he will never charm the senses, nor excite the imagination of any human being; and without conceiving characters suited to his music, he will never produce any thing pathetic, animating, nor sublime. In this respect, the musician is often indebted to the poet, who first imagines the subject and the characters of his drama, while the other adapts airs suited to the different ideas which are meant to be excited; and here Dryden and Handel accord with each other. Another effect of music, not less pleasing, is, by soothing and harmonious sounds, not particularly adapted to any subject, to raise a train of delightful ideas in the minds of the hearers. Whoever effects either of these purposes, exerts his imagination pleasantly and usefully.

The creations of poetry are, perhaps, superior to those of any other of the elegant arts. Exalted above all earthly joys and sorrows, she

exerts her powers in a world of her own, and lifts the soul awhile into another sphere, where no sensual pains nor delights can find room to intrude. There is a charm in poetry, which they who have never felt, can never imagine; it touches with so gentle a sweetness, it kindless with so keen a fire, it animates with so thrilling a rapture, that its delights exceed the power of utterance, and can only be expressed by gestures or by tears.

The power of imagination, in the works of the pencil, operates immediately through the senses, and produces its effects in proportion to the progress of the artist in the principles and performance of his art, and when these arrive at any great pitch of excellence, painting becomes a school of fancy, history, and morality.

The efforts of imagination in statuary are similar to those in painting, but she employs different means to effect the minds of spectators. She represents models of ideal grace, strength, or beauty, and becomes, by these means, equally subservient to the purposes of pleasure and instruction, equally capable of giving lessons in taste and morality, and extending the elegant amusements of society.

The designer in landscape works with different materials from those employed in any other

art, yet his excellence is equally dependent on the strength and correctness of his imagination. He must have ideas of picturesque beauty, similar to those represented on canvas, which the mattock and the spade must imprint on the face of nature, and preserve them by constant attention; for his works are liable to be perpetually defaced, as they are for ever exposed to the rudeness of the elements and the changes of nature, and therefore stand in need of more constant repair. They equally contribute to amuse and delight, tho' they have not much tendency to improvement.

Ideas of grandeur and beauty must have existed in the imagination of the architect, before he could have produced such buildings as St Peter's at Rome, and the Rialto at Venice.—The actor who can justly represent the finest characters of Shakespeare or Racine, must conform his imagination to that of the poet, and be inspired with similar ideas.

The pleasures and the pains of sympathy spring from imagination alone, for without it, we never could partake of the happiness of others, nor feel for their distresses; it is neither from actual knowledge, nor from remembrance, that we have any idea of their feelings.

Imagination refined by virtue, is the source of honor, tenderness, and delicacy. The spirit of chivalry owed its origin to a lively conception of ideal wrongs; it tended to refine the minds of barbarians above the gross feelings of mere personal injury, and taught them to form ideas of virtue exalted above the coarse collisions of the passions, and to comprehend the nature of moral excellence. The tenderness which we conceive for the feelings and distresses of others, exists only in imagination, yet it is a source of pleasure to refined souls, and equally gratifies him that bestows and him that receives its effusions. The violence of the passions is frequently corrected by the imagination; for the idea of giving pain to others frequently restrains us from saying and doing many things to which, by some sudden emotion, we are impetuously urged; and it prompts also that delicate attention to the feelings of others, which most of all things sweetens the intercourse of society.

The arbitrary conventions of civilization, which sometimes produce good and sometimes evil, have their source in imagination; for their objects have no intrinsic value in themselves, and therefore derive all their consequence from the power of fancy and mutual

agreement. Gold and silver have no other value than what we please to give them.—They cannot be eat or drank, but that which we imagine them to resemble, may; by the help of imagination, we transfer to each other, the produce or representative of labor, which is the only thing that has any true value in use or enjoyment. A piece of lace, or of silver, exquisitely worked, may from fancy derive a value equal to the labor of a man for years, but, after all, it remains just what it was, except in our ideas of its excellence. A severe moralist may condemn this exercise of our imagination, but if it contributes to our comfort and amusement, why should we diminish the number of our enjoyments? When life has so many pains, never let us lessen its pleasures, unless they take from the comfort of others; yet when thousands are in want of bread, that labor is misemployed which is spent in raising luxuries and pampering imaginary desires.

To imagination we owe all our expectations, and our actions proceed, in general, from expectation rather than certainty. Probability, tho' it is at first a calculation of the judgment, becomes heightened by the exercise of imagination; we estimate first, and then imagine;

without the latter, the former could have little effect on our actions; for the cold deductions of reason require to be warmed by the animating pictures of fancy. In our anticipations of future happiness, pains, or amusements, we not only suppose what we may be, but image to ourselves what will be, and thus acquire motives to action, stronger than reason alone could suggest.

In the early ages of mankind, the force of imagination was much more powerful, as well as more irregular, than in the polished periods of civilized society. It is the same in the first stage of our life; for the natural and political state of man considerably resemble each other. The savage and the infant are similar beings, and both more guided by imagination than by reason, hence we see poetry and fiction constitute the mental pleasures of both, and the religion of the former, as well as their history, is nothing more than fable. The sports and amusements of children are all derived from imagination; their little feasts, their visits, and their games, are but pictures copied from something greater than themselves; and all pictures or imitations depend on the strength or weakness of the fancy.

The power of imagination in books of instruction is universally acknowledged, and men of all ages have derived advantage from knowledge mingled with pleasure; for she never comes in so agreeable a form, as when the charms of truth are heightened by the ornaments of fancy. The pleasure we receive from novels and romances, is derived alone from the imagination. And who does not think with rapture on those delightful moments, when the muses, led on by fancy, strew flowers in the rugged path of existence, and guide us through their enchanted groves, which open, alas! but to darkness, and give us back again to the cheerless monotony of common life, which reason may reconcile us to, but fancy and hope can alone render supportable to those who are capable of refined enjoyments.

Imagination, tho' the source of many pleasures, has also many evils and many pains; when indulged to excess in the contemplation of ideal excellence, it is apt to make us fastidious, and dissatisfied with things around us, and in the search after imaginary happiness, lose that which is within our reach. They who are for ever conversant with works of imagination, such as novels and poetry, are apt to acquire a

romantic turn of mind, which disqualifies them for the affairs of the world, and makes them unaccommodating to those with whom it is their lot to lead the greatest part of their lives. The passions and sensual appetites gain strength from the pruriency of a warm imagination, which, if not early restrained, leads to hopeless debauchery. The tortures which men of strong imagination frequently suffer from the anticipation of evil, are easier to be conceived than described, but as they are in general groundless, they hardly merit to be more particularly mentioned; and yet with all its evils, the imagination is among our noblest faculties, it exalts one man above another, as much as reason exalts us above all other creatures.

The general effects of imagination are now to be considered; and first, it is worthy of remark, that the pleasures of imagination are ever lively, various, and new, while those of reason fatigue, and those of sense become dull, tiresome, and vapid.

The characters of men depend more upon their imagination than upon any other faculty, for the feelings of men are always in proportion to their imagination; tho' I am sorry to say, that the conduct of some men does not always correspond with their feelings. 'Tis

imagination alone that exalts one man above another, and makes the man of genius tower over the rest of his species, by the purity of his morals and the grandeur of his thoughts. Filled with ideas of virtue, beauty, and happiness, he scorns the petty contentions of the world for wealth and power, and looks down with pity or contempt on the mean disguises of dissimulation and flattery. He keeps his mind for ever intent on that purity and refinement, which tho' ideal, can only preserve him from the filth and folly of the world. He knows no superior, but in virtue and talents, and considers the trifling forms and distinctions of society, as the sports and amusements of children. Such a man is born to reform and improve his species; and tho' he may be sneered at by the vulgar great, or laughed at by the thoughtless mob, it is impossible, if he takes the trouble to instruct his fellow-creatures, that he should not amend and purify the degraded state of society.

Imagination makes the great distinction between vulgar and superior minds, for they who are able to exert, or to receive pleasure from her various powers, resemble the favored guests at the marriage feasts of the Jews, who were admitted into a splendid and illuminated chamber, while the rest were kept out in a state of

comparative darkness. The vulgar can reason and reflect, but they cannot conceive new ideas; yet if they are strangers to the pleasures of imagination, let it be remembered, that they are also exempt from its pains; but for all this, there is no man of taste or sensibility, who would think for a moment of exchanging even the acutest pangs which flow from a fine imagination, for the dreary comforts of apathy.

The power of imagination is not less capable of producing moral beauty, than the beauties of art. The painter and the sculptor imagine and execute something more beautiful than nature ever created, and the moralist, to improve mankind, must conceive more than can ever be performed, for if his maxims only keep pace with the state of society, the world would never grow better; it is only by holding up models of excellence more pure than the actual state of things, that mankind can ever be enlightened or improved.

A man of warm imagination may be imprudent, but he can never be wholly depraved, for he who can picture to himself the distress or happiness of others, unconnected with his own, must feel for them in some degree, if he has not been hardened by early prejudice, or frequent disappointment, and he will act as he

feels, when every string in his heart vibrates with responsive sympathy. He who has never rioted in the luxury of a warm imagination, may be coldly and correctly virtuous, but he can never be generous, affectionate, nor tender, he never can experience those fine feelings of philanthropy which expand into universal benevolence.

To what I have said of the nature of imagination, much might be added by men of more fertile invention, for the powers of the mind form an inexhaustible subject of examination and improvement; much has been done toward reducing her operations to the determination of mathematical certainty, but experiments and enquiries continually extended by accurate attention and patient thinking, will do much more towards acquiring that degree of precision in the knowledge of human motives and conduct, which may establish sound principles of morality, and improve the condition of civil society.

CHARACTERS.

Caratteri, temperamenti, il mondo é bello per questo.

GOLDONI.

VARIETY is in all things a source of enjoyment, and tho' there are some objects to which we ought to be constantly attached, yet even these may be seen in different lights, and are capable of affording us new pleasures. The remark of Solomon, that there is nothing new under the sun, is generally true, but not as applied to individuals, for tho' all things in the world which appear to be new, (because they take new forms) are but different modifications of matter, which has existed, most probably, from eternity, yet to those who see them for the first time, they have the air of novelty. No individual can live or act on so extended a scale, that the change of country or of manners

will not present to him something that he has not seen before; the sphere of action in which the generality of men move, is very limited to them, therefore, by the frequent re-appearance of the same objects, it may be said there is nothing new. Even Solomon, who possessed all that wealth or power could afford, came at last to the end of his enjoyments, and then cried out, with the peevishness of a child who is tired of its playthings, that all is vanity. The situation of kings is not, however, the most favorable to the pleasures of variety; their enjoyments may be costly, may be exquisite, and far-sought, but being limited to a certain round, both of space and company, they must soon become tiresome and monotonous, for the faculties become blunted, by a continual repetition of the same objects, even if they are pleasing. Variety is most within the reach of him, who, with a moderate fortune, can travel from place to place, partake of the pleasures which different countries afford, and contemplate all the various appearances of the natural and moral world, both of which, considered as to individuals, are endless in their extent and variety.

The constant pleasure which even the dullest minds experience from a change of objects,

is a proof that the love of variety is congenial to man. The natural world presents us with perpetual variety, but the greatest of all is in human characters, for no two are alike, any more than two faces, so that their diversity is only bounded by the number of the species; yet, for all this, there are many which so nearly resemble each other, as to come under a general description, and without this, the world would be a scene of endless confusion, and men could have no certain criterion whereby to judge of the characters or conduct of their fellow-creatures. Were all men constantly and solely directed by reason, there could be no difference in their actions, and consequently no variety in their character, for reason is uniform, consistent and steady; but as passion forms a part of our nature, and custom, caprice, and prejudice, make up the rest of our composition, these simple materials, like the notes of the gamut, are capable of endless variations; yet reason, like harmony, is the principle which binds them together, and preserves them from confusion and discord.

The casual circumstances which form the distinctive marks of character among men, are generally at first so slight and imperceptible, as to escape the eye even of the acutest ex-

aminer; they principally operate in early youth, when the connection between cause and effect, on the human mind is hardly to be perceived, and are, therefore, erroneously attributed to a natural disposition; yet in men more advanced in life, it is sometimes not difficult to distinguish the particular circumstances, which form their tendency to a particular turn of character. The man whom a long acquaintance with the worst of his species, whom disappointment or distress has rendered dissatisfied with all around him, and hopeless of any thing better, becomes a gloomy misanthropic enemy to the present state of things, not from any benevolent purposes of general melioration, but out of pure ill-nature and revenge. He rails at that dishonesty, which he once looked upon with indifference, while he partook of its spoils, but when he becomes a sufferer, instead of making many others suffer, he sees the matter in a different light, and finds his only satisfaction in exposing the villainy which he once looked upon with approbation and complacency. He becomes a reformer, not from principle, but from malice, and a patriot from pure misanthropy, not so much to redress the grievances of others, as to revenge his own. Some there are, who, hav-

ing spent their fortunes by extravagance, become advocates for reform, in hopes of mending their condition, and getting rich by others' ruin; such men should first reform themselves, before they are trusted with the public concerns. Reformers are to be found in all states, who seek for a change of affairs rather to satisfy their own disquiet, than to improve the condition of others. Among this set of men there are infinite varieties of character, and tho' the object of reform in all states is, or ought to be, the same, viz. to remedy those grievances whereby the people are deprived of their comforts, yet such are the different views and sentiments of men, that there is, perhaps, not above one third of the whole who in any one point resemble each other.

The various shades of character which distinguish individuals from each other in society, form a constant subject of amusing contemplation to the philosopher, who penetrates into the recesses of the human heart, and judges of things not from their appearances, but from their distinctive qualities. The dull monotonous forms of polished society, leave little room for any display of character among the generality of men, yet there are some whose minds are of so peculiar a temper, as to shew their

true motives, notwithstanding these restraints. Were it not for custom, fashion, and the slavish dependence of each man on other people's opinions, we should have a much greater variety of character than the world at present affords. It has been remarked by foreigners, that this country, where the people are under fewer restraints from the government, than in despotic monarchies, contains more eccentric characters than any other in Europe, and to a certain degree it is true, for undoubtedly an Englishman is left more to himself in the disposition of his time and property, than any other man in this quarter of the globe, hence results that variety of character which is to be found throughout, but particularly in the metropolis, and hence also the pleasure which an Englishman derives from an acquaintance with men of all ranks. One Turk or one Russian resembles another in almost every thing, but there are hardly two Englishmen alike, except in the general features of their character, viz. their love of their country, their bravery, and their love of liberty; these are mixed and compounded with so many other qualities, that tho' they are strong enough alone to form a national character, yet there are hardly two individuals alike.

The characters of most men depend on the circumstances in which they are placed, more than on their natural disposition. There is one thing, however, in which men of all characters agree, which is never wholly to forget their pecuniary interest; and the longer a man lives in the world, the more he will be convinced that little dependence is to be placed on gratitude, friendship, or opinions, where they come in competition with this motive. Young men who set out in the world, see things only on the bright side, and fancy others honest, because they are themselves pure; or they form high notions of honor and integrity, and think the world may be reformed by the mere effect of principles; but they live a few years, and find out their mistake. I am not defending such a state of things, or wishing to diminish the purity of the younger part of society, I am only stating facts which I lament. Such being the case, it is so rarely that we find a man preserve uncorrupted integrity beyond the period of his youth, that such a man (if any is to be met with), is considered as a character who differs from the rest of the world, and entertains chimerical notions, which exist only in the republic of Plato and the Utopia of More; a man whom some people pity, and others despise.

Characters may be divided, first, into public and private; and next, into great, common, and odd; among these are to be found good, bad, and mixed. The great and the eccentric are the only characters that are worthy of much notice, and of the first I will give some specimens.

To find out the true characters of men in private life, is a matter of no small difficulty, and if we hardly know ourselves, is it wonderful that we should know so little of others? The difficulty is still greater in public life, and greatest of all with those of past times. The private lives of great men are generally so little known, that, unless their conduct is grossly wicked, their motives of action are generally hid from the public eye. The fulsome old maxim, "*de mortuis nil nisi bonum*," has contributed to keep men in the dark, as to the characters of those who have been long dead, and prejudice, partiality, and the insufficiency of biographers, have rendered it for ever impossible to place them in their true light; all that we must look to is the future. It cannot, therefore, be too frequently inculcated, that they who undertake to give the lives and characters of others to the public should be free from every improper bias, and furnished with

ample information as to the conduct and motives of those whom they thus undertake to deliver to posterity. It is of the utmost importance to mankind, that they who read history or biography, should find in them an exact transcript of past transactions, for, without this, they are of little use either as patterns to imitate, or examples to deter; they may amuse, but they cannot improve us; they are not history, but romance.

The difference between temper and character is frequently confounded, tho' no two things can be more unlike. Temper consists in those dispositions of the heart in which all men resemble each other in their different descriptions viz. sullen, obstinate, hasty, proud, or malicious. Character is formed of those peculiar propensities, those likes and dislikes, those pleasures and pains, by which one man differs from another so much, that he composes almost of himself a particular species. The component parts of all men are the same; it is the manner in which they are mixed together that forms their character.

Pope has remarked, that most women have no characters at all, which is not equally true of men. The same author has observed, that there are as many kinds of men as moss; of

women the differences are less frequent, and tho' more numerous than the great moral poet allows, yet they are certainly more capable of general descriptions than those of men; their education and the events of their lives are more nearly alike, and therefore their characters will have a greater resemblance to each other; yet even among them there is great room for contemplation, and sufficient variety to employ the attention of those who are curious in characters; their education is more free, their manners are more unrestrained, and their liberty of thinking considerably enlarged, since the times of Pope; and therefore it is to be expected that the same materials will afford a greater diversity when put together. The characters of men are to be found in their motives, not in their actions, which makes it so difficult to draw those of public men with accuracy; we must endeavour then to lay open their secret and hidden thoughts, and this is to be done, more from the private conduct and sentiments, than from their public professions. To acquire any certain knowledge of the characters of past times, we should read original historians and chroniclers. Froissart, Grafton, and Harding, the Parliamentary History, and the State Trials, will give us more insight in-

to the true characters of their cotemporaries, than Henry, or Rapin; because without attempting to draw characters, they give us facts and anecdotes. To form an idea of living personages, one private sentiment or action is worth a hundred public deeds or speeches.

The study of characters is not only a pleasant, but the most useful exercise of the mind, for, in our commerce with the world, it is of infinite importance to be thoroughly acquainted with those around us, that we do not mistake cunning for wisdom, bluntness for honesty, nor meanness for frugality. The characters of some men vary considerably at different periods of their lives, at least as to the lesser traits, tho' in great fundamental points they may remain still the same. A man who at one period is addicted solely to pleasure, becomes at another the slave of ambition or avarice, and the infidel sometimes turns out a devotee; yet these violent alterations are neither frequent, nor natural.—A gradual change takes place in almost every man's character, according to the different periods of his life; but all extremes excite suspicion of some sort or other.

To a contemplative and inquisitive mind, there are few greater pleasures than the study of different characters which great cities afford

in their full extent and variety. The different modes of living, and the various pleasures which men of different characters adopt, in a great metropolis, excite the curiosity, but not the surprise, of a liberal man, for he who considers how many motives and impressions operate on mankind, will cease to wonder that they produce an endless variety of characters and he will employ terms of reprobation and contempt to none but those whose vices or passions disturb the repose or invade the property of their fellow-creatures. To describe and to invent a character, is, equally difficult; for the one, penetration and judgment are requisite, but genius alone is necessary for the other. Clarendon excels all historians in the strength of his characters, and Shakespeare, as a poet, is superior to every other. His Richard, Macbeth, and Othello, are not equalled either by ancient or modern times, and if the construction of his dramas had been a little more artificial, nothing would then have been wanting to make them as great as could be conceived; as it is, however, his characters alone make his best plays superior to those of any other writer; which shews, that however pleasing the rules of art may be to men of refined taste, yet an accurate delineation of nature is the first

thing requisite to reach all hearts, to prevail over every other excellence, and to supply every other deficiency.

In the lower ranks of mankind there is little difference of character, and little is to be expected, for the constant occupation of toiling for a living, leaves little room for other thoughts and employments; the same pleasures, the same pains, and the same objects, are common to them all; one sailor is as much like another sailor, as one ploughman resembles his fellow. Yet we now and then find, even among artizans and mechanics, a character to whom chance has given a different turn from the rest of his equals, and formed for the instruction and amusement of those around him; but such, indeed, are rare in all ranks, and much more so in those which afford so little room for variety of sentiments and ideas.

There are certain characters in history which seem to stand out from all those who surround them, and to force themselves on our notice; but those which are the most prominent, are not always the most worthy of our regard. The greatest conquerors and heroes are not always the greatest benefactors of mankind, but very often the reverse, and it will be found, that there are characters not generally known,

which most deserve our notice. One of these was Callicratidas, a noble Spartan, who possessed all the sterner virtues of that inflexible republic. Submission to the laws, love of his country, a high sense of honor, independence of spirit, and a contempt of those distinctions which depend alone on chance, were the distinguishing marks of his character; he occupies a small space in history, but there are many who fill a larger much less deservedly. A short epitome of his life will show how highly he deserves our esteem. He was sent to supersede Lysander in the command of the fleet, but the hired partizans of the former opposed his authority. His speech to them on the occasion was forcible, and truly laconic. "Had it pleased the state," says he, "I should have been content to stay at home, nor does it affect me that Lysander, or any other man, should be thought a better seaman than I am. Hither I have been sent to command the fleet, and my chief concern is to do my duty. It is my earnest desire to promote the public interest; you can best inform me whether I ought to remain here or return to Sparta." This simple appeal had its effect, and the whole fleet requested him to remain. A short time after, he was sent to Sardis to demand an

arrear of money due from the Persian monarch. The first time he visited the palace, he was told that Cyrus was at dinner. "Well, then, said he, "I will wait till he has dined." He was refused admittance a second time, and returned no more to be again insulted. After this repulse, he applied to the Grecian cities in Asia for their contributions, promising to repay the whole, if he was successful, and adding these memorable words, "Let us shew the barbarians that we can punish our enemies without their aid." His first attack was against Mythymna in the isle of Lesbos, in which he was successful; when it was proposed to sell the Mythymnians for slaves, "No!" replied he, indignantly, "No Grecian citizen shall ever be reduced to slavery while I have the command," Having met the Athenian fleet, he was advised, on account of their great superiority, not to engage, but his reply was such as became a Spartan, and his death was the proof of his sincerity. "Sparta will sustain no injury from my death, but she may if I fly." He was slain very early in the engagement, and victory, after a long and doubtful struggle, decided at last for the Athenians.

Among the many names which history has consecrated to eternal fame, that of *Aristides*

the Just stands foremost; his virtues were the produce of a republic, and with him died the name of a republican, in Athens. Other men have been differently represented, according to the prejudices and partiality of historians, or the light in which their characters have been viewed by their biographers; Aristides has but one character with all men, and even Gillies, the constant detractor from republican merit, has given him his due praise. "He was eminently distinguished," says that pleasing historian, "by valor and moderation, the two greatest virtues of a republican. Formed in such schools of moral and political knowledge as then flourished in Athens, he had learned to prefer glory to pleasure, the interest of his country to his own personal glory, and the dictates of justice and humanity even to the interests of his country. His ambition was rather to deserve, than to acquire the admiration of his fellow-citizens, and while he enjoyed the inward satisfaction, he was little anxious about the external rewards of virtue."

The time of his administration was called the Golden Age, and so pure were his hands, that when he died, he did not leave enough to pay the expences of his funeral, but the republic provided for his children. "Themistocles and

Pericles adorned Athens by their buildings and statues, but Aristides adorned it by his virtues." This is the testimony of Plato.—At the representation of a tragedy of Æschylus, when the following words were repeated, "He wishes not to *seem*, but *to be* a good man," all eyes were turned on Aristides. His whole life was consistent, steady, and uniform, unstained by a single vice or crime. 'Tis from such men we form our notions of a divinity.

Pericles was a great character, but his ambition was too strong to leave him at all times honest. He had magnanimity, firmness, and dignity, superior to most of his cotemporaries, and his administration was distinguished as the most brilliant period in the history of Athens, yet he excites our wonder rather than our esteem. Aristides exalted our nature, Pericles only adorned it; we remember the one with admiration, we adore and venerate the other.

Examples are not wanting in history, of states being supported by the virtues and talents of one individual; such was Epaminondas to Thebes; he restored to that state its democratic form of government, and with him it flourished and decayed. When the spirit which gave it life was no more, it perished, after a few ineffectual struggles to maintain its

consequence. Epaminondas was one of those rare and singular men, who exalt mortality to a rank approaching to divine, and surpass their fellow-creatures by arriving at the highest excellence of their nature, while the rest are content to resemble each other. Tho' born and educated in the rank of nobility, and descended from kings, he owed his elevation above other men, only to his virtues and his talents. He was learned and eloquent, without ostentation, and studied philosophy, arts, and sciences, without pedantry. His military talents place him above most other generals, but his greatest praise was that of being a patriot. He possessed all the simple virtues of a true republican, and despised the vain pomp of dress, equipage, and attendance. His passions were always at the command of his reason, and he was equally proof against the blandishments of riches and power. His last words corresponded with his life, and he died at the age of forty-eight; too early for his country, but not for his own glory. Being wounded at the battle of Mantinea, he asked on which side was the victory; and being answered on the Theban, he replied, "I have lived long enough, for I leave my country triumphant." His friends lamenting to him that he left no family, he replied, "I leave two daughters,

Leuctra and Mantinea, who will transmit my name to posterity." Thus ended one of the greatest men of former times.

Timoleon was distinguished in every action of his life by an ardent and disinterested love of liberty, which entitles him to a place among the greatest characters of antiquity. He put to death his only brother, for having aimed at sovereign power, and devoted his own life to the service of the people of Syracuse, who had long suffered under the tyranny of Dionysius and the Carthaginians. He was successful in his enterprize, and retired to a private station with no other reward than his glory and an unsullied conscience. A memorable speech is recorded of him, which is alone sufficient to illustrate his character, and to prove that all his actions proceeded from principle. Having been maliciously accused of malversation in office, the people of Syracuse, full of gratitude to their deliverer, were ready to tear his accusers in pieces; but they were stopped by Timoleon, who calmly addressed them in these words: "Consider, Syracusans, what you are doing. Remember that every citizen has a right to accuse him whom he thinks guilty; which, if you deny, you destroy that liberty which I consider it the pride of my life to have

restored." To such magnanimity, how opposite was the conduct of the haughty Roman! Publius Scipio being accused of embezzling a part of the treasure obtained from Antiochus, disdained to answer to the charge, reminding the people that that day was the anniversary of the victory of Zama. On a second accusation, he called for the paper of his accounts, when instead of satisfying the people as they expected, he tore the scroll to pieces in their presence, and, without deigning to give any other answer, retired to a country village in Italy, where he died a short time after, the victim of insulted pride. Such was the difference between a Grecian and a Roman citizen; the pride of the former lay in his submission to the laws; that of the latter in his personal merits.

Tiberius Gracchus was one of those great and good characters, who, tho' feeling strongly for the miseries of mankind, mistake the means of redressing them. He had more honesty than wisdom, and more zeal than prudence; so that whilst intending the greatest possible good, he produced only an increase of calamity. Such men deserve credit for their intentions, tho' their impetuosity hurries them beyond the limits of discretion; they have strong traits of charac-

ter, which distinguish them from the vulgar, but they are oftener the enemies, than the benefactors of mankind.

The state of Rome at the time in which Gracchus proposed the execution of the Licinian law, was sufficient to excite the indignation and pity of every virtuous man; yet the evils he lamented were too strongly rooted in the power of the rich, to be suddenly remedied, and the extreme he proposed was too violent, either to be relished by those whom it injured, or to do good to those for whom it was intended. The accumulation of property in few hands is the cause of many evils, which every good man must deplore; it fomented in Rome the pride and luxury of the rich, and extended the miseries of the poor. Foreign conquest had been the means of introducing immense wealth, and the lands of freemen were cultivated by slaves. Riches and poverty equally produce great vices; and virtue, at Rome, was no longer the road to honor. In this state of things, Tiberius Gracchus proposed his famous Agrarian law, which met with many partizans among the poor, and many opponents among the rich; it cost Rome much confusion, and its author his life, and remains a signal instance of the depravity of that city, and the rash imprudence

of Gracchus. The virtues of a barbarian are strongly exemplified in the character of Viriathus, the leader of the Lusitanians, or Portuguese, in their struggle with the Romans; from a shepherd he became a captain of banditti; from that he was raised to a prince, and by his virtues shewed himself worthy of his station. He was valiant, prudent, temperate, generous, and just; he despised the luxuries of civilized life, and devoted his whole mind to the salvation of his country—he resisted the Romans for eleven years, and when he died, the forces of the Lusitanians were dispersed.

The last great character which Rome produced, after she had lost her liberty, was Agricola—a man who, for his public and private virtues, has been transmitted to posterity by one of the most philosophic historians of ancient times.

Tho' modern Europe is by no means so fertile in great examples of virtue as the republics of Greece and Rome, yet some are to be found who do honour to human nature, and redeem the age they lived in from insignificance; but they are few in all countries. Our own may boast of Alfred, Hampden, Sydney, Marvel, Fletcher, and Shippen; Italy of her Andrew Doria; and Spain of her Padilla. Alfred was

one of those great men whose lives form an æra, or resting place, in the history of their country; he was one of the lights of a dark age, which shine for a while, and tho' soon surrounded by a gloom, are never wholly extinct, for even at this day we feel the benefit of his wisdom and the fruits of his experience, in the administration of justice, the regulations of police, and the enjoyment of liberty. His whole life was employed in civilizing and enlightening his subjects, and at his death he left them a legacy which has been transmitted to their remote posterity; notwithstanding all his laws and restraints on the people, the words of his will declared that they were meant only for their benefit; "For Englishmen," said he, "should ever be as free as their own thoughts;" thus dying as he had lived, the benefactor and friend of his people, whom his only desire was to improve. The life of Alfred also affords a strong proof, that no one ever did much good to mankind who had not devoted much of his time to meditation and study. The world is principally indebted to two sorts of men, those who make it better, and those who prevent it from growing worse; among the former of these, Alfred is the most conspicuous; and among the latter, Hampden and Sydney.—

Hampden, by his bold resistance to arbitrary power, prepared for the overthrow of the monarchy, which, tho' it ended in the establishment of a government more despotic, confirmed the people's right to bring their kings to punishment. Sidney, by his defence of the same principle, for which he suffered nobly, infused a spirit into the people which led to that change of government from whence we date the confirmation of our liberty. It behoves us and our posterity, therefore, to keep this glorious bequest undiminished and unimpaired.

Andrew Marvel was one of those disinterested patriots who do honor to human nature, and deserve to be held in constant admiration, as examples of purity to those times in which even the possibility of such virtue begins to be doubted. He was the constant satyrist of a profligate court, the steady opposer of a venal ministry, and tho' poor, he could never be bribed.

Fletcher, of Salton, the violent enemy of the union with Scotland, has obtained the name of patriot, rather from his principles than his conduct. He detested oppression and arbitrary power in others, tho' he was much inclined to them himself, for he once committed murder

in the heat of his resentment. Tho' the same in principle with Marvel, no two men were in their characters more opposite; the one was lively, gay, and convivial, liberal to those who differed from him, and benevolent to all; the other was sour, splenetic, and revengeful, suffering no one to differ from him even in trifles; a professed republican, tho' in practice a despot; the one was the friend of reform because he wished to preserve the constitution, the other admired all government only in theory; the one was beloved even by those whose measures he opposed, the other was hated even by his own party. To the nobler parts of Fletcher's character I should be unwilling not to do justice; he was benevolent in principle, of inflexible integrity, independent, generous, ardent, and ever willing to sacrifice his fortune or his person in support of what he believed to be for the good of mankind, and from the perusal of his writings, it is impossible not to be warmed with the flame of patriotism and benevolence.

Tho' Coxe, in his life of Walpole, has denied the name of patriot to Shippen, yet I will not hesitate to pronounce *him* such, who was the constant opposer of the most corrupt administration, except one, that ever disgraced this

country. He was attached, it is true, from early prejudice, to the house of Stuart; yet he partook of none of their arbitrary maxims, but was the constant friend and advocate of liberty. Being committed to the tower for declaring that the King's speech was rather calculated for the meridian of Germany than of England, the Prince of Wales, then at variance with his father, sent him an offer of £1000 as a present, which he declined. Sir Robert Walpole, not only during the life of Shippen, but after his death, repeatedly declared, "that he could not say who was or was not corrupted, but he could say who was not corruptible." Mr Coxe relates this from the authority of Lord Orford. Tho' he was publicly the enemy of Walpole, he had personally a respect for him, and used frequently to say, "Robin and I are two honest men: he is for King George, and I am for King James. The rest only desire places under either." His speeches are pointed and forcible, but his manner of delivering them was too vehement and rapid. The strong features of his character were firmness and integrity. His humour was keen and sarcastic, tho' his temper was gentle. He was regular and economical in the disposition of his time and fortune, and never suffered his expences to ex-

ceed his income. He was the last of English patriots.

The character of Andrew Doria is thus drawn by Robertson. "Having freed Genoa from the yoke of France, it was in Doria's power to have rendered himself the sovereign of his country, which he had so happily delivered from oppression; but, with a magnanimity of which there are few examples, he sacrificed all thoughts of aggrandizing himself, to the virtuous satisfaction of giving liberty to his native country,—the highest object at which ambition can aim. Twelve persons were appointed to new-model the constitution, and the same form of government which has subsisted since that time, was established with universal applause. Doria lived to a great age, and acquired an ascendancy in the state, which was upheld by a veneration of his virtues, not by a dread of his power, and his name is handed down to posterity by the Genoese, as the Father of his country, and the restorer of its liberty."

During the early part of the reign of Charles V. the people of Castile, wearied out with their grievances, and determined to seek redress, formed a confederacy, to which they gave the name of the *Junta;* there were among them many men of talents and character, but the

most remarkable was Don John de Padilla. Their designs were extensive, and aimed at no less than a complete restoration of their ancient liberty. The language of their remonstrances breathed a spirit hardly to be expected in an age and country so little enlightened. Their leader was possessed of talents and virtues fully equal to so great an undertaking; but the power of the crown was too strong to be resisted, and they wanted that union and concert among themselves, which are requisite for all great enterprizes. After a few trifling successes, they were totally defeated by the forces of the tyrannical emperor, and Padilla was instantly led to execution. where he died with the spirit and fortitude of a martyr in the noblest cause. When Bravo, his fellow-sufferer, expressed his indignation at being called a traitor, he replied with dignity: "Yesterday was the time to have displayed the spirit of a gentleman, to-day we must shew the resignation of Christians."—Such were the last words he ever uttered.—There is a glory that brightens even the fall of a great man, which villains can never attain to in their highest prosperity. His letter to his wife, and another to the city of Toledo, display his character more strongly than any labored panegyric; and as Robertson

has translated them, I will give them in the notes.

Another illustrious example of distinterested patriotism deserves to be mentioned, and I have then finished, for the present with the bright side of human nature, and must undertake the painful task of recording her dishonor. John Frederic, Elector of Saxony, justly stiled the *Magnanimous*, was one of the principal supporters of the protestant cause in Germany, against the arms and tyranny of Charles the Fifth. After several unsuccessful struggles, he was taken prisoner by that monarch, and condemned to death; he received the news of his sentence with the greatest calmness, while playing at *chess* with his fellow-prisoner, Ernest of Brunswick, and, after some philosophic reflections, resumed his game. His triumph was not yet complete; fate had reserved him for other trials, and at the intercession of his wife and family, he consented to purchase his life by the surrender of his dominions and liberty. On these conditions, he remained for many years a prisoner to the inhuman Charles, who carried him about as an evidence of his triumph over the protestant cause; but tho' he was master of his person,

he could not enslave his mind; for when he proposed to him to sign an infamous compromise of his opinions, which was termed the *Interim*, he indignantly refused, adding, that his life was of little value compared to his honor and consistency. He remained a prisoner for five years, till the peace of Passau rendered his further captivity useless as a matter of policy, for humanity had no share in his release. Whether he afterwards obtained a part of his hereditary dominions or not, remains uncertain, but he finished his life as he had spent it; a memorable instance how little fame is to be derived from virtue unattended by ambition. I have purposely selected such characters from history, to shew how much more they deserve our admiration, than those political intriguers who scruple no act of meanness or villainy to accomplish their ambitious purposes; and that high rank and great power, tho' for a while they may lend a blaze of splendor to confound the multitude, can never enlighten mankind like the quiet flame of persevering integrity.—Having now produced some few characters who do honor to human nature, I will reverse the picture, and present to view some others who disgrace their species, for the sake of

shewing how far our nature may be depraved.

The most bloody monster recorded in the history of ancient Greece, was Cleon, the son of Clœnetus. He was the Robespierre of former times. I need hardly say more of him. By a species of eloquence adapted to enslave the passions of the multitude, he had risen from the lowest origin to the highest offices in the state, and in every instance shewed himself unworthy of power or confidence. He had the art, like many other tyrants, to disguise his designs, and under pretence of consulting the public good, to gratify his own passions and resentments. His power was not so great as that of the French tyrant, for the people of Athens were not so degraded as those of France: they had long been free, and the others had only just emerged from slavery; yet what he wanted in power, was supplied by inclination; and wherever he could, he shewed himself equal in cruelty to any tyrant of ancient or modern times. The city of Mytelene, in the island of Lesbos, had revolted against Athens, but was finally subdued by Paches, and the citizens being all taken prisoners, were completely in the power of Athens. On this occasion, the Athenians deliberated how they were to be treated; such was the in-

fluence of Cleon's eloquence, that an inhuman decree was issued, condemning them all to death; and thus for a time the monster seemed satisfied. But the Athenians soon became convinced of their cruelty and injustice; they dispatched a vessel to suspend the execution, which arrived time enough to arrest the hand of death, and give leisure for a fresh deliberation. In this, the bloody policy of Cleon was again displayed, and his speech on the occasion, given us by Thucydides (tho' we are not to suppose it original), conveys his full sentiments. It is a master-piece of cruel sophistry, and breathes slaughter from one end to the other. The merciful persuasion of Deodatus prevailed, and the former decree was reversed; yet was the punishment of these unhappy revolters sufficiently severe, according to the rigor of the Athenian policy. The influence of Cleon, however, gradually declined, and the last blow was given to his popularity by Aristophanes, who represented him on the stage in his comedy of *The Knights* in the most odious colours, and rendered him the object of hatred and contempt. By such characters, the people of all countries should be warned against the flattery of ambitious men, who talk to them of their rights, their injuries, and their liberties,

and pretend to consult the interest of those whom they inwardly despise, while they seek only to obtain their own diabolical purposes.

Among the worst characters recorded in history, that of Appius Claudius stands foremost. His vices were of such a nature, as to leave no room for a single virtue; for he was a compound of ambition, pride, cruelty, lust, and cunning.—*Monstruma vitiis nulla virtute redemptum.*

The French revolution, tho' fertile in great crimes, has produced also illustrious examples of virtue, and unusual traits of character; for at such a period, when all the restraints of society were removed, and when the ties of nature seemed to be loosened, there was room for a display of such qualities and dispositions as are not permitted to shew themselves in the more quiet periods of settled government. Great sufferings call forth great virtues, and power is the nurse of crimes. No history of former times affords such a variety of characters, which being presented to us almost before our eyes, and within the reach of our feelings, are likely to be better understood than those which we see only through the medium of history.

The character of Mirabeau, which stands foremost in the history of the revolution, as

being the first active agent in that eventful period, is now no longer doubtful. With talents suited to any purpose, he wanted those solid virtues which inspire respect and confidence, and therefore, tho' courted by all parties, he was trusted by none. The Jacobins despised, and the Royalists dreaded him; but at last they won him to their party. He had that intuitive quickness of penetration, which enabled him to perceive at a glance, the remote tendency of every measure, and that happy force of expression, by which he compelled other people to see what he wished them, by a few words; nay, he could do more; he could make them believe what was never intended, provided it suited his own purpose. He was, therefore, completely master of his audience, whenever he spoke, and never wasted his time in vain harangues. His passions, and his indulgence of them, were equally unbounded, and what he wished, he seldom wanted the power to obtain, for his means were superior to those of all other men. To the most profound dissimulation, he united the greatest openness and plainness; his arrogance and audacity were invincible; it was impossible to disconcert him. He was at all times in possession of his countenance, his voice, and his temper, and when it

suited his purpose, he could display such a degree of force and earnestness, as communicated the same to all around him. His ardor and impetuosity carried every thing before them. He could bear no opposition, and he possessed the power of silencing all his opponents. Born and educated in the rank of nobility, he never forgot the manners of a court; and tho' personal sufferings had rendered him the enemy of oppression, he still retained in secret, his prejudices in favour of royalty. No one ever excelled him in the knowledge of mankind; he penetrated into the most secret motives of those with whom he was concerned, and discriminated the different features of every man's character, and those in which one man differed from another. He was admirably suited in all respects for the leader of a party; but he had no need of a party, for he was the leader of the nation in all its efforts from slavery to liberty. He has been accused of having a share in the Orleans' conspiracy, and it is certain he was connected with many of its members, but he never acted with them as a party any further than it suited his own ideas of personal interest. He certainly never intended to go all the lengths of the revolution, because he knew too well that in such a struggle he

might lose all that he had been contending for. He wished to be the first minister of a limited monarchy, and his views of ambition extended no further. His expression on his death-bed, that the monarchy had died with him, was a strong proof that he had engaged himself in its support; and it is, perhaps, not hazarding too much to say, that, had he lived, he might have saved from destruction both the monarch and the throne; for his eloquence and personal influence were able to effect any thing. He was himself a tower of strength to whatever party he espoused, and had he lived, he might have been a bulwark to the court, to break the violence of contending parties.—Had he lived, the Robespierres, Talliens, and Legendres, would have remained in insignificance, and many of the horrors of the revolution might have been prevented; but it happened otherwise, and he perished by an untimely death, in the vigor of his talents and the height of his power. He was a patriot in theory, but in action he thought only of himself. The rights and liberties of the people, and the sacred principles of morality, were in his head, but not in his heart. He could write, and he could speak, of all that was virtuous, amiable, and honorable, but in action he lost

sight of his principles, and afforded a miserable example how feeble is the control of reason, over strong and predominant passions. No eloquence in modern times (if eloquence is to be estimated by its effects), is to be compared to his, for he never spoke without gaining his object.—His private life was a shocking series of profligacy and immorality; tho' he felt all the delicacy of the tenderest love, yet he indulged at times in the coarsest intemperance. His letters to his mistress, who was the wife of another man, express all the feelings of the most refined and delicate passion, united to the grossest sensuality. In the art of seduction he was unrivalled; for tho' nature had denied him every personal attraction, yet such were the illuring spells of his conversation and manners, that no woman whom he chose to attack could resist his advances. His person was large and coarse, his face was disfigured by the small-pox, and his features were strong and repulsive, yet for all this, he could talk himself agreeable, for he had a tongue to charm even the guarded ear of suspicion and prudence, and accomplish what few men would dare to attempt. By every action of his life he forwarded the progress of the revolution, and it was brought to its present termination only by his death. The

fatal resolution of the monarch to fly the kingdom, was the first consequence of that event, and all his future measures tended only to hasten his destruction. Had Mirabeau lived, he would probably have saved the throne; and tho' we should acquit him of all guilt for the share he had in overturning despotism, the Brissotines were not equally innocent in the overthrow of the monarchy.

The character of the celebrated Brissot has been variously represented; by his friends he has been exalted to the rank of Aristides, and by his enemies, he has been degraded to the level of a pick-pocket. The truth probably lies between the two extremes, and, after a strict examination, we shall find him neither wholly profligate, nor completely virtuous. That he was an enthusiast, there can be no doubt; for he had formed romantic notions of social happiness, which no state of society has ever yet realized, and probably none ever will. To make way for this pure reign of equality, it is certain that he conspired to overthow the monarchy, without possessing suffieient energy or talents to substitute another government in its room. Tho' he should be acquitted of personal ambition, yet, having destroyed or endangered the happiness of thousands merely to

indulge in a favorite speculation, we must not pronounce him thoroughly honest; for no man can deserve that name, who does a positive evil for the sake of uncertain good. Ambition assumes various shapes, and that of Brissot seems to have arisen from the vanity of leading a party, which was to regenerate the world; it was not the savage ambition of Bonaparte or Robespierre, the mere lust of power, or passion for dominion. Tho' qualified for the leader of a philosophical sect, he was by no means fit for the head of a political party. By a long and frequent custom of reflection on the most important subjects, he had acquired a considerable degree of accuracy and precision in his thoughts, and a strong, vigorous method of expression. He was a good writer, but when called upon to act, his judgment seemed to forsake him, as if it was something to which he was not accustomed, and therefore unequal. He had the art of persuasion in private, for his manners were gentle, and his conversation attractive. He had the power of attaching his friends to him strongly, but not the means of confounding his enemies. Robespierre, with talents for speculation far inferior, rose above all the parties that successively opposed him, by the mere force of intrigue, and a practical

knowledge of mankind. The history of Brissot's imprisonment and death, is comformable to the character he maintained through life. During those trying periods, he was calm, dignified, and resigned, and never from the first indulged a hope of pardon or mercy. That he was desirous of improving mankind, the general tendency of his writings leaves little room to doubt; for no man can feel the sentiments he expresses, without desiring to put them in practice; but it is also evident, that not having been educated, nor lived according to the strictest principles of moral integrity, he was too little scrupulous about the means which he employed, and had therefore adopted that most dangerous political maxim of doing evil for the sake of good. Whoever attempts to overturn a government, before its iniquity is intolerable, and before he is certain of substituting another quickly in its room, is answerable for all the consequences that may ensue, and impeachable at the bar of humanity for high crimes and misdemeanors. That this was not the case with Brissot and his party, the event fully proved, and tho' some, or even all of them, may have intended much good to mankind, and been animated by the purest republican virtue, yet this is not sufficient to

acquit them of the means they employed to overturn a government which had been so long established, and so lately reformed. Having conceived monarchy to be the greatest of all evils, and the cause of all others, they thought that every thing they desired must result from its overthrow. They had no settled scheme of conduct, no unity of design or action, and were, therefore, forced from the helm of the state, which they were unable to manage, by a fierce band of ruffians, whose only object was pillage and murder.

To relate the bloody consequences of this usurpation, when youth, beauty, talents, and all that could adorn and dignify our nature, were the objects of proscription and murder, belongs to the pen of history; my humble office is only to give a faint idea of the virtues and talents of one set of men, who were sacrificed to the jealousy of a sanguinary tyrant. The Brissotines soon began to be sensible of the fatal error into which their mistaken zeal had hurried them, and how little they were able to direct the passions of the multitude, and they made some atonement for their misconduct, by their firmness in suffering, and their dying attachment to liberty.

Vergniaud, who rivalled in eloquence the fame of Demosthenes, and equalled in virtue the best sages of antiquity, was by nature too indolent to exert himself even on great occasions. His contempt for the generality of the world, did not hinder him from wishing well to his species, and if mankind could be reformed by talking to them, no man was better qualified for the purpose than Vergniaud; but he was too idle to take any further trouble. His connection with the Brissotines was rather the effect of an attachment to his friends, than any desire of being active in the public service, and when he found the party of Robbespierre triumphant, and his own in prison, he gave himself up without one struggle or exertion, even of his eloquence, to save either himself or his friends. He had many opportunities to elude the vigilance of his guards, and by regaining his liberty, to rally in the departments, the slender remains of his party; but he despised them all, and resigned himself to his fate with an indifference which might rather be called apathy, than philosophy. His friends often urged him, while in prison, to prepare an harangue for his trial, which might give him some chance of saving his life, and of con-

founding, by the thunder of his eloquence, the malice of his enemies; but he was deaf to all their entreaties, even when they pressed him to leave some written memorial which might justify his life and motives, to posterity. He began,—but some more pleasant idea came across his mind, and his pen was thrown aside. He had finished about a quarter of what he intended, when the fatal bell summoned him to trial, or rather to execution. For a while he was roused from his lethargy, and began, before his merciless judges, to pour forth a torrent of irresistible eloquence; they felt its force, and silenced him immediately; from that moment, the voice of him, whose persuasive powers could have rendered even virtue and truth more amiable, became dumb for ever. He was hurried from the bar to the scaffold, where, with a look of pity, contempt, and triumph, he smiled upon his persecutors, and breathed his last sighs for liberty.

Guadet and Gensonnè are inseparably connected in the history of the revolution; they were friends rather from similarity of sentiment, than of temper, for the one was cold, and the other impetuous; the one was a subtle reasoner, the other an eloquent debater; the one was too deliberate for action, and the other too

ardent for reflection, so that both misemployed their talents; but both were men of inflexible honesty and unsullied patriotism, and, in their private lives, they were alike good husbands, fathers, and friends. In their last hours they supported an honorable struggle, which of the two could be of the most service to his country by flight. The arguments of Gensonnè were irresistible. Guadet found means to deceive his guards, and fled into his own department, where, after many unsuccessful attempts with others of his party, to raise the country in their favor, he was taken and executed at Bourdeaux. Gensonnè remained in prison with the firmness and spirit of a martyr, and at his execution, shewed the dignity and elevation of his soul, by his looks of contempt for his murderers; for he never deigned to pollute his lips with their names, nor to descend to the meanness of reproach.

Buzot, Barbaroux, and Louvet are the next of those enlightened patriots who deserve our notice. Buzot was a man of lively imagination, and strong passions; yet rigid and inflexible in his notions of justice, and an implacable enemy of fools and knaves. He possessed all the soft and tender affections in the highest degree, but was better qualified for private, than for public

life. He was fastidious, and difficult to be pleased, in his opinions of men, but to those whom he honored with his friendship, he was steadily attached. He was a lover of his species, tho' he lamented to see them degraded by the arbitrary distinctions of society; and he devoted his life, like a zealous republican, to their improvement. His firmness and constancy, in his last difficulties, sometimes forsook him, and he was often tempted to wish that he had never been born: but who can wonder, that a man who so keenly felt the ingratitude of those he was striving to serve, should sometimes sink under afflictions so severe? Nature cannot be at all times equal, and fortune often tries our strength.—Barbaroux was of a tender and gentle nature; young, gay, and lively; elegant in his person and manners; yet frank, open, and manly. He was an ardent lover of liberty, proud of his independence, and well informed on every point of literature; yet fond of pleasure and rejoicing in the vigor of his youth. His attachment to Buzot was a friendship founded on mutual esteem and a similarity in the most honorable pursuits; not a partnership in pleasure, a joint fellowship in riot, nor a union of intemperance. His suffering, during the cruel persecution of his party, can only be

conceived by men of feeling and elevated minds. His last words to Louvet in which he recommended his mother to his care, shew that he felt all the tenderness of filial piety, and excite the most lively regret for his untimely death. He was guillotined at Bourdeax, in all the vigor of health and youth. Louvet was the common friend of Buzot and Barbaroux, and served to keep them more closely united, by softening their failings, to each other. He was himself an equal sufferer for the cause of liberty, in whose defence he neither considered his life nor safety, but defended her with equal intrepidity against monarchial and republican tyrants. His political writings will remain a lasting monument of his patriotism and talents, and vindicate him with posterity from all the charges with which the enemies of liberty, loaded him in his lifetime. He was ambitious, ardent, and impatient; and the disappointment of his wishes, by the destructiou of his party and the success of villains, preyed upon his spirits, and hastened his end. His manners were simple, his mind was strong and his heart susceptible.— He was one of those few victims who survived the success of Robespierre, and he has left, in the recital of his dangers, a monument to posterity which will serve the future historian in

describing the horrors of those times; it bears in every line, the stamp of truth and feeling, and, makes the reader almost present at the scenes it describes. He died as he lived, in honorable poverty; but he bequeathed, in his writings, a treasure to posterity.

The sufferings and fortitude of Ducos, the two Fronfrede, Valazè, Duchâtel, Boisguyon, Brissot, Roland, Girey Duprè, demand a particular recital, for their conduct in such trying situations serves to illustrate their characters more than volumes of dissertation. Men of feeble minds could not have acted as they did, nor so nobly braved the terrors of death.—Never at one time was there such an extinction of talents and virtue, as on that fatal hour which gave two and twenty of the Brissotines to the scaffold. They were republicans of the stoutest temper, and to the spirit of ancient Romans, they united the refinement of modern philosophy. The love of independence, the hatred of oppression, and the contempt of meanness, treachery, and death, were for ever in their hearts and in their lives, and had they possessed as great talents for action as for speculation, they might have hastened the arrival of that improved state of social intercourse, which probably is now very far distant. Never

were there in any age or country, so many great men united in the public cause, and devoted to the service of mankind. Their sufferings bore a testimony to the dignity of their characters, which no enmity nor malice can overthrow, and they will live in the remembrance of posterity, when their persecutors and calumniators are forgotten or execrated.

In their prisons and at their death they displayed none of that romantic, over-heated zeal, which seems to seek for persecution, and rejoice in sufferings. Theirs was the calmness of philosophic minds, conscious of having intended well, and suffering undeservedly. They sought not death, because they knew it would put an end to the period of their usefulness, but they feared it not, for they knew it to be final and momentary. They preserved their patience, and even their gaiety, in the midst of all the agonies they suffered by separation from their friends, and the thoughts of their approaching distresses; but they inwardly felt many pangs for the unhappy lot of their nearest relations, who were to be left behind them in a cruel and ungrateful world, yet, they concealed with noble dissimulation, these agonizing feelings, because they knew they could neither benefit their friends, nor serve their cause, and might be

mistaken by the multitude for a sign of weakness and timidity. By their conduct, therefore, in their last moments, they excited an interest in their favor, even among the wretches around them, which nothing but the force of tyranny could have suppressed, and left an example to posterity which will never be effaced.

The youth, talents, and interesting appearance of Ducos, the two Fonfrede, Girey Duprè, and Boisguyon, make us lament their fate more severely than even that of their companions; yet their gaity seemed to lessen the horrors of imprisonment, and supported them even in their last moments. They were all eloquent, lively and ingenious, and to all these qualities, united the most ardent love of liberty, for which they seemed proud to suffer, even to the utmost. Fonfrede the elder, for a few moments, poured forth in secret a flood of tears, at the recollection of his wife and infants; but when perceived by his brother, as if ashamed of his weakness, he hastily replied, "It is nothing." The night previous to their execution was spent in composing and singing hymns to liberty, and their passage to the scaffold was a triumph, rather than a punishment. Girey Duprè was asked, on his examination, if he was acquainted with Brissot. "Yes," replied the

noble youth, "I knew him well; he lived like Aristides, and died like Sydney." This speech served only to hasten his end; he knew it, and seemed rather to fly, than to walk, from the bar to the guillotine. On ascending the scaffold, he bared his neck, as if for instant murder, and a few minutes after he received the last act of mercy. He perished at the age of twenty-four,—a youth of the most promising talents and irreproachable morality.

Boisguyon was in all respects a practical philosopher; his virtue was of that mild and gentle nature which never forced itself into notice, nor ever judged harshly of the conduct of others; his whole study was to improve himself, and he succeeded; his self-command was superior to that of the greatest stoics of antiquity, and his information, on most subjects, was various, correct and extensive. He is said to have principally directed all the military operations of General Beysser, under whom he served, without obtaining any share of the credit, or even being named. To paint his character in one word; he possessed many papers which might have served for his justification, but as they involved the safety of others, he forbore to produce them in his own defence. His patriotism expanded itself into

universal philanthropy, but one thing tho' a defect, must not be concealed; he wanted the firmness of Girey Duprè, for during his imprisonment, he wrote to Robespierre, to remind him that he had once saved his life. The tyrant took no notice of the letter, and he mildly submitted to his lot.

Duchâtel, tho' imprisoned and executed with the Brissotines, was hardly to be considered of their party; he was a member of the Constituent Assembly, but a decided Royalist, and did all in his power to save the life of the king, by voting for his banishment. He was sick at the time the trial begun, and having heard the turn the sentence was likely to take, he got out of his bed, and hastened to the Convention, to save, if possible, the life of the monarch. This was never forgiven him by the Jacobins, and on the 14th of June, 1793, a decree of accusation was issued against him, for having kept up a correspondence with the Royalists in La Vendèe, and he was executed on the same scaffold with the Brissotines.—Riouffe has recorded his behaviour from the moment of his arrest to his execution, and every fact bespeaks the same noble and determined energy of mind, which he had shewn in the events above related.

Valazè was the only one of the Brissotine party, who denied the tyrant the triumph of a public execution. On the whole he was not a character so amiable as many of his fellow-sufferers; in his conduct he was frequently actuated by pride and passion, rather than by solid and virtuous principles. There was in his manners and ideas a considerable portion of republican purity and simplicity, but it was rather the result of hatred to his superiors, than of benevolence or justice to those beneath him. In short, he was a republican more from passion than principle.—In the meetings that were held at his house by the members of the party, he discovered so much violence and extravagance, as to disgust the best intentioned persons among them, and prevent them giving their attendance any further; and even in prison, he carried his disputes with Vergniaud, in particular, to such a length, as to draw from that eloquent deputy, some expressions of contempt for his talents and intentions, which were far from being pleasant to their friends. He had, moreover, a species of keen, sarcastic irony, which disgusted most who conversed with him; yet he was, on the whole, an ardent and determined, but not an amiable character.

Adam Lux, tho' not a member of the Brissotine party, shared with them the sufferings of an unjust imprisonment and execution. As a native of Mentz, he had been deputed by that city to solicit a reunion to France; he was a man of the most pure and virtuous principles, tho' little acquainted with the world; and when he came to compare the refined notions he had formed in theory with the actual state of society, he was shocked at the horrid inconsistency; yet not intimidated from professing those principles of independent morality which yield to no temptation, and are not affrighted by any idea of danger, he expressed his virtuous indignation at the unworthy representatives of a free people, and gave full scope to the elevated sentiments with which he was inspired by the sublime self sacrifice of Charlotte Corday. The pamphlet in which he proposed a statue to be erected to her memory, with the inscription, "To a greater than Brutus," may be considered as the act of a man who was tired and disgusted with a degenerate world, and seemed to consider death as an honorable distinction in such unhappy times. Virtue could not have chosen a purer temple for her residence on earth than the heart of Adam Lux. He was a model of republican simplicity. Educated in

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all the innocence of a country life, he united to the most profound and extensive knowledge, the utmost purity of manners and principles. All his ideas were centered in the promotion of virtue and happiness, and not one thought of base self-interest mingled with his pursuits; but his distinctive character was firmness, elevation, and dignity; there was nothing low or grovelling in his ideas, nothing weak or timid in his conduct; what he believed to be right, he followed with ceaseless perseverance, and was never to be diverted from his purpose by danger or difficulty; even death itself inspired him with no terrors, when duty interposed. His life was one constant act of benevolence, and his end was conformable to his conduct and sentiments.

Roland was a virtuous man, and a man of talents; it was his misfortune to take a part in public affairs when virtue was not only useless, but dangerous, and talents were of no avail, unless employed to commit crimes; he therefore fell a sacrifice to the cause of virtue, and only served to add another martyr to that list of proscription, which embraced the best names with which France was ever honored.

His wife not only towered above her own sex, but more than rivalled the other; she was,

in talents, and dignity of character, one of the first women that ever adorned the annals of history. If an idea of her mind was to be formed from her writings alone, we might safely pronounce her to be faultless, for, there indeed are to be found sentiments which tend to the highest improvement of our nature, expressed in language the most pure and animated. The love of learning, virtue, liberty, arts, beauty, nature, elegance, and refinement, shines in every page that she has left behind her; so that, for my own part, I heartily pronounce that there is hardly any thing in prose from which I have derived equal pleasure. She was ever the friend and adviser of her husband, she sought for no more power than she could obtain through him, and was, in all respects, such a wife as few literary men have the happiness to possess; not only the partner of his bed, but the companion of his social and literary hours; she shared in all his triumphs, and felt for all his injuries; his counsellor in all difficulties, and the sole instructress of his child; she sympathised with him in every thought and feeling, so that when he heard of her death, he no longer wished to continue in existence. No woman was more free from the vanity of her sex, for her mind was too much

occupied with things of importance, to be amused with the trifles of dissipation. Her greatest pleasures were the beauties of nature, animated conversation, and the study of mankind. She avoided all places of public amusement, where nothing was to be gratified but an idle love of pleasure, tho' she was pleased with music and theatrical representations, when either were to be had in any degree of excellence. In mind she was elevated, by the most refined studies, beyond the common pitch of women; it is, therefore, not wonderful that she found few companions among her own sex, yet she never forgot the duties which nature and custom had imposed on her. As a mother, she excelled most others in attention to her daughter, and as the mistress of a family, she never neglected any branch of that important trust, but regulated all concerns with the most systematic œconomy. The same exact disposition of her time and affairs, she carried with her to a prison, where neatness and elegance were ever attended to, so far as the rigor of her persecutors would permit. Her music, her books, and her flowers, soothed and beguiled many a tedious hour, during five months of rigorous imprisonment; and when the last moments of her life approached, and she was

commanded to prepare for execution, she got ready at the appointed instant, dressed as became the modesty of her sex, with elegant simplicity.—Her firmness never forsook her for a moment during all her sufferings, and on the scaffold, she paid a compliment to her executioner, which none but a Frenchwoman, and such a one as herself, could have conceived; her last words deplored the state of liberty, and she yielded to the fatal stroke without a sign or struggle of resistance. Having now presented the bright side of her character, it is but consistent with that impartiality which I wish on all occasions to preserve, that I should admit what may be said to her dispraise. That she conspired, with the rest of the Brissotines, against the king and the monarchy, there can be little doubt, and it will be somewhat difficult to defend her against such an accusation; all that can be said is, that her conduct affords a lamentable instance of the weakness and inconsistency of human nature. By much meditation on the vices and miseries of mankind, and the constant contemplation of theoretical excellence, she had exalted her mind to a pitch of enthusiasm, which rendered her blind to all the obstacles that lay between the conception, and the completion, of her

beloved object, which she believed to be of such a nature, as to sanctify any means by which it could be realized, and thus in the search after an imaginary good, she produced much actual misery to herself and others, because neither she nor her party were provided with the means of accomplishing their purpose. Let their example be a lesson to all reformers of states, to be content with gradual and moderate improvements, such as are conformable to the progress of nature, rather than by aiming at visionary excellence, to hazard their own and the public safety.

La Source was a protestant minister from the province of Languedoc, a man of lively passions and warm imagination; in him the love of liberty was rather a feeling than a principle; it was therefore not to be wondered, that he was one of the most violent of his party. His detestation of the crimes which were committed in the name of liberty, so strongly excited his sensibility, that he used no disguise in expressing his sentiments, with that powerful and prevailing eloquence which naturally flows from a cultivated mind and a good heart, roused to indignation by successful villainy. A feeling disposition and elegant manners were the strongest traits in his character; he was

therefore a warm friend, and an agreeable companion, generally cheerful, and always sincere. He preserved the utmost gaiety during his imprisonment, and went to death, with the calm composure of an honest heart.

Duperret was one of the most moderate and steady friends of the Brissotine party; he was a plain, honest man, of no great talents, but firmly attached to the cause of liberty. He was born in the lower ranks of life, but had improved his mind by reflection and study; deliberate in his judgment, and firm in his resolves, he died with calm tranquillity.

The character of Robespierre is, with many men, even now a subject of dispute; some consider him as a man of profound talents, and others only as a successful villain. His views and motives seem also to be doubtful, and what could be the designs of a man who employed his power only in shedding human blood, is a problem which can only be solved by a more accurate knowledge of his private character, than any thing hitherto published can enable us to determine. His disposition, from his earliest youth, was dark, gloomy, and revengeful, jealous of the superiority of others, impatient of restraint, which some men mistook for the love of liberty, tyran-

nical to his inferiors, and to those above him, proud, distant, and disrespectful. He had nourished his mind, in his early years, with the study of the greatest characters in the ancient republics, but the lessons he received from them became soured, in passing through his acrimonious heart. He gloried in reading their resistance of oppression, but with him it became only a hatred of submission; he mistook the lust of power for the love of liberty. He was naturally cautious, subtle, and reserved, and never gave the slightest indication of his intentions, till he was ready to accomplish his purpose. The love of power was his great and predominant passion; to acquire and maintain this he sacrificed every other consideration; no human ties were binding with him, if they laid any restraint on his ambition. He did not, like Cæsar or Cromwell, arrive at power by a series of bold and desperate actions; he rose by slow and gentle degrees in the opinion of the people, by professions of regard for their interest, and a hatred of the great. He courted the multitude by every species of flattery, and he obtained their esteem by an appearance of honesty, for which they gave him credit, because he was superior to the temptations of interest or luxury. The simplicity of his man-

ners, his aversion to splendor, his humble fare and homely dwelling, all gave countenance to their belief of those simple virtues which are essential to republican states, and which had been so eloquently painted by Helvetius and Rousseau. He humoured the taste of the mob, and he rose to power by their favor, and had he not sought afterwards, to govern by terror rather than opinion, he might have remained to this moment the first officer of a great republic, but his talents were limited; he saw no more than one thing at a time. His views were not extensive, he had no ideas beyond those of force or fraud. There was nothing great, noble, or generous in his conceptions, and when he had accomplished his purpose, he knew not how to employ his power. The great, the learned, and the virtuous, were his enemies, and he saw no method of silencing their opposition, but force; and, that engine which he employed to preserve his authority, proved the instrument of his destruction. It was natural that it should be so, for no man can expect to govern a country long, after he has reduced himself to a mere trial of strength with the people, which shall last longest.

The republic which Robespierre aimed to establish, was impracticable in the nature of

things, and is a proof that he had no talents but for popular eloquence; it was the republic of Jack Cade, where all were to be equal, and he was to be their king. Could there be a stronger proof of his ignorance in the art of government? He caught the favorable opportunity for obtaining power, but he wanted the talents to preserve it. The people were the dupes of his canting professions, and the victims of his stupid tyranny. He encountered no difficulties, but found every thing prepared for him, by the recent dissolution of a great monarchy. Power was the reward of the most daring and wicked, and he obtained it by that claim. To love, to friendship, and to pity, his heart was equally a stranger. One great passion swallowed up every other; all his thoughts and actions were bent on the means of acquiring and preserving power; he had a happy talent for discerning who were likely to be useful to him, and as soon as he had obtained his purpose, they were no longer his friends, but his rivals. In the first he shewed his judgment, but in the last, his extreme weakness, for it proved in the end his destruction; and those who had been his tools and agents, destroyed him not out of regard for the public good, but their own safety. His views were

narrow, and his means were few and contemptible.

One thing may be urged in his favor, and it would be hard to suppress the truth, when so little can be said in his praise. At the time when he came into power, France was likely to be torn in pieces by different parties; he suppressed them all, and by the force of terror, (a dreadful instrument!) united them as one man, and enabled them to repel their external enemies with triumph; he converted the nation into a great magazine; he did every thing to interest the people in the defence of their country; he compelled the rich to contribute with all their means, and suffered no hand to be idle in the moment of general danger. It must be remembered also, that the law which protects literary property was passed during his administration, and the formation of the National Institute commenced at the same period; but when we have said this, we must cease to speak in his praise, for every other measure of his government deserves to be branded with infamy.

Danton was a man of strong mind and strong body; the latter was the index of the former. After the destruction of the Brissotines, no man bid fairer to be the Cromwell of France than

Danton; but Robespierre over-reached him; he was employed by him while he could be of any use, but the moment he began to be dangerous, he was sent to the scaffold.—Danton, tho' fierce, cruel, and undaunted, had yet some sentiments of pity, and tho' he had stept far in blood, he thought it safer to stop than to proceed; but he suffered for his mistake; his death secured the power, and hastened the fate of Robespierre.

Danton appears to have been hurried, by the excesses of the revolution, into many acts of violence and cruelty, which in cooler moments he abhorred. He was not, like Robespierre, naturally savage, for tho' coarse in his appearance and manner, he had many traits of goodness about him; he was generous, friendly to those he esteemed, and open in all his attacks; he was a man of genius, grand in his conceptions, and bold in the execution of them; he had no talent for oratory, nor any respect for those who had, which is not to be wondered at, for he said more in a few words, than others could do in long and labored harangues. Under the monarchy, every place was occupied, and no room was left for his ambition. To gratify this passion, he voted for a republic, and in one moment the oldest monarchy in

Europe was effaced. He was too bold, too indolent, and too violent, to wait for the lazy process of time, to accomplish what his ambition or his inclination prompted him to desire; but tho' he had the power to create, he wanted the means to preserve, either his own life or the republic, for they both fell a sacrifice to a craftier villain than himself, and they live now only in remembrance. In Robespierre every thing was little, except his ambition and cruelty. In Danton every thing was great; he sought for nothing by little and crooked means; he never disguised his designs; when Robespierre courted the people, he commanded them. He was one of those great geniuses who can excel in any thing, but, unfortunately, he was so impregnated with revolutionary principles that, instead of endeavoring patiently to enlighten mankind, by reason and argument, and to build upon the old foundations, he bore down every thing before him with unprincipled violence, and tore up society by the roots, rather than wait for the tardy fruit of time and philosophy. But, in fact, he was no philosopher; he was a boisterous demagogue, who, with liberty, equality, and happiness on his lips, had only ambition and vengeance in his heart; he had some good qualities, and

many great ones, which redeem him from total infamy; he was one of those bold, bad men, who, tho' they sometimes eventually serve the cause of liberty, yet, in general, do more to destroy than to promote the happiness of society.—A short time before his death, Garat, who had been formerly acquainted with him, conceived the hope of attaching him to the cause of humanity, and in becoming the mediator between the two parties, of organizing the republic on principles of moderation and equity. Danton gladly embraced the opportunity, and seemed to sigh only for the return of tranquillity, but it was too late, for his inhuman foe perceived the tendency of his conduct, and punished by death, his virtuous apostacy.—The particulars of the design, and means of execution, are detailed by Garat, and may be considered as some atonement for his former guilt.

The character of the Duke of Orleans, who nicknamed himself *Egalite*, is too generally known and detested, to need much illustration, yet a few particulars of his life may serve to make the baseness of his conduct more evident, and expose him still further to that contempt which all villains deserve. A royalist writer, too strongly prejudiced against him to deserve

much credit, has employed three volumes to prove the existence of a conspiracy which nobody doubts, for a purpose which nobody believes. Orleans was, in all respects, the most contemptible and detestable character that figured in the revolution; bred in all the vice and luxury of a court, he put to shame even his princely companions, by the grossness and filthiness of his debauchery, and exceeded even his infamous ancestor of libidinous celebrity.—His democracy was not the result of patriotism, but of the insults and disappointments he had received from his royal relations; they knew him, and detested him, and he determined on revenge. He was a convenient instrument for intriguing politicians, and Mirabeau, Sieyes, and La Clos, made their own use of him; he became, however, after he had ceased to be the tool of a party, the dupe of his own villainy. His aim was, no doubt, in all his movements, open, and secret, to overturn the throne, but that there was a conspiracy to place him on another, no evidence has yet been produced. It is sufficient guilt to have subverted the monarchy, without one honest or liberal motive. He can hardly be described under any distinctive character, but that of vice and profligacy; he was not entirely with-

out talents, and such accomplishments as with princes are indispensible, nor wholly without virtues, for he was kind and compassionate to the wretched, and gentle towards his friends and family; he took no delight in the bloody excesses of the revolution, but a foolish love of popularity, and a constant desire of novelty and pleasure, were his prevailing passions, which he was never restrained from gratifying, by any regard to honor or principle. He is reported to have been accessary to the death of his brother-in-law, the Duke de Penthievre, by keeping him in a continual course of debauchery, for at the young man's death, his wife became heiress to his immense possessions.

The famous committee of Mont Rouge, about which M. Bertrand has said so much, was certainly never convened for the purpose he insinuates, that of deposing the king, to make Orleans lieutenant-general, and afterwards monarch; not one single fact corroborates the idea. That a committee did meet under his auspices, and that they used him as their tool, for exciting insurrection and limiting the power of the crown, there can be no doubt; but the tales which have been told under any other supposition, are so devoid of conistency and probability, as to be totally unworthy of

credit.—One story pretends that he was to demand an audience of the king; in which he was to offer his mediation between the court and the people, on condition of being appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom; that he went as was settled, and when he got to the door of the king's chamber, he met the Baron de Breteuil coming from thence, and asked him if he might speak with the king; to which he was answered, that it was impossible, but if he wished to say any thing particular, he might write to his majesty. "Unless," says the minister, "you wish rather to write your demands to me, and I will lay the letter before the king." He preferred the latter method,—(very likely indeed!)—but durst not say a word about being lieutenant-general;—(what! not by letter?)—and merely contented himself with intreating his majesty's permission to take a voyage to England, if public affairs should take an unfavorable turn in France. That he and his party had a share in the proceedings of the 5th and 6th of October by sending the mob from Paris to Versailles, there can be little doubt; for the money of Orleans was at all times profusely spread among the people, to gain him popularity, and to render the royal family odious.

The waywardness and irregularity of his youth are strongly pictured by his cousin, the natural daughter of the Prince of Conti, in her interesting memoirs. Their fathers used frequently to sympathise with each other on public and private distresses, the misery of the people, and the profligacy of their sons, the sufferings of the nation, and the wretchedness of their families; for they were patriots from pure benevolence, and kind fathers from tenderness of feeling. "The father of the Duke de Chartres," say she, "since called Citizen Egalitè, had always some new and scandalous anecdote to recount of his son, in opposition to the hopes and consolations that the Prince of Conti wished to give him."—Having once in vain entreated his uncle to intercede for him, "he came," says this amiable princess, in the greatest distress to me, and begged me to interpose in his favor; adding, that nothing else could save him from being eternally banished the presence of his father, and that his vivacity, and not his heart, was in fault. I immediately entreated the Prince of Conti to take me with him to the Temple, which was then the residence of the Duke d'Orleans, and permit me to intercede for the prince my cousin. He smiled at my proposal, but my oratory suc-

ceeded. The Duke de Chartres shewed himself sensible of my kindness, and overpowered me with expressions of gratitude; and he once afterwards recalled this anecdote to my memory." His father was reconciled to him for a time, and he appeared to be more sober and prudent, yet he neither changed his company nor his conduct. To his eternal shame and infamy, he afterwards treated this unfortunate lady, in the zenith of his popularity, with neglect and indifference. His correspondence, which has lately been published with every mark of authenticity, proves, that in his journey to England, he was the dupe of his ambition. The court had begun to dread his popularity and intrigues at home, and they sent him here to amuse him with the idea of becoming sovereign of Belgium, in case England and Prussia should have any design of favoring the patriots there, and taking it out of the hands of the emperor. He at last saw through the artifice, and immediately solicited his recal.

Tho' violent and resentful, Orleans does not appear to have been naturally cruel; he had a great regard for his children, and took the utmost care of their education, and tho' he differed on that subject from his wife, who was a

violent bigot, he always treated her respectfully and civilly. His voting for the death of Louis was to be considered as a last attempt to rally a party which he found were deserting him, but it had the contrary effect, and only hastened his destiny. The editor of the correspondence confesses that he had the barbarous curiosity to see him go to execution, and was surprised at his firmness and composure. The rest who were in the cart with him, held down their heads in the utmost confusion and distress, but he alone appeared erect and undaunted, and when the cart stopped, opposite to that famous palace which had been once his residence, and in which he had rivalled even Trimalchio and the monks of Medmenham in the extremes of grossness and refinement, he surveyed it with the air of one who was looking about to make alterations and repairs. Such indifference at such a time is hardly to be accounted for, but it is proved by the strongest evidence.

Having now described the first performers in the great drama of the French revolution, and the most bloody hero in the tragedy, I will finish this subject, by giving an account of his principal agents; for had he not met with men in all respects suited to his purpose, he never

could have occasioned such extensive mischief, nor so completely have silenced the popular voice. The Talliens, the Frerons, and the Heberts, were aptly chosen as the instruments of his cruelty, for they never left his commands unfinished, but seemed even to overact their parts. To describe them all would be but a gloomy repetition of villany and cruelty; yet there are two who seem to be so far distinguished from the rest, as to deserve particular notice, and these are Fouquier Tainville, his attorney-general or public accuser, and the bloody Samson, his executioner, for such he was in more senses than one. Tainville was no mean and cowardly villain, he never affected moderation and candor, nor appealed to heaven for the purity of his intentions; his purpose was murder, and he had no hesitation about the means. He was not restrained by any law or precedent, and what he "wished highly he never wished holily," like the half formed villainy of Macbeth. Except the mere pleasure of having the lives of his fellow creatures in his power, it is difficult to say what was his motive. To be sure he was well paid for his performance, and lived better than he had ever been used to, and some men will do any thing for that. He seems to have been little trou-

bled with the alarms of conscience; it is no wonder, therefore, that he never once relented in the hottest moments of his bloody trade.—Nay, he even exceeded his commission, for on that day which saw Robespierre deposed, he sent four-and-forty victims to the scaffold, and when some one remonstrated with him, (at the same time mentioning the fall of the tyrant) he answered with cool indifference, "That's no matter, the law must have its course."—At other times, he called for condemnation on persons whom he had neither seen nor known; and at one time sent above eighty before the tribunal, where, without further ceremony, he said to the jury, "I suppose you are sufficiently convinced that these men are guilty." Without hesitation, they declared their consciences to be satisfied, and sent them in gross to the guillotine. He used constantly to frequent a coffee-house near the palace of justice, and on being asked the number of heads that had fallen during the decade, he replied, "How much do you think I have gained for the republic?" meaning the property of those who had suffered. They answered, perhaps so many thousands. "Yes," says he, "more; and next decade I'll cut off three or four hundred more heads!"

Among those accused in one great batch, there happened to be an old man, whose tongue being palsied, prevented him from speaking; Tainville being told the cause of his silence, "O, no matter," says he, "it is the head we want, not the tongue." This was coarse and cruel pleasantry.—During the whole of his own trial, he shewed the greatest coolness and presence of mind. When he was brought before the very tribunal where he had sent so many to death, he kept writing the whole time, yet he was all eyes and all ears, for he lost not a word that was said, either by the president, the jury, the witnesses, his accomplices, or the public accuser. While the latter was summing up the evidence, he pretended to be asleep, and when he came to his defence, he drew down his large black eyebrows, and frowned with indignation. It was impossible for human ingenuity to say more in his exculpation, to alter facts with greater address, or to go nearer to prove an *alibi:* he denied his own hand writing, and never shewed the least mark of fear, when the strongest evidence was produced against him.

While he was going to execution, his face of marble seemed to defy the insults of the populace. He even smiled, while uttering the most

insolent threats; for an instant while he was mounting the scaffold, he betrayed some signs of trepidation and repentance; but they were momentary. His look was keen and penetrating, his hair black, his face short, pale, and much marked with the small-pox, his size about the middle, but his limbs strong, and his eyes small and round. His character seems to have been that of a man neither refined by education, nor softened by morality, of strong parts, great vices, cruel, savage, and implacable.

Voltaire has remarked, that the history of England should be written by the hangman. Mercier says, the history of the French revolution should be written by Samson the executioner, and surely no man so proper to relate the number of victims who suffered in Paris, for all they fell by his hands. With the same undisturbed gravity of countenance, and the same mechanical insensibility of feelings, he cut off the head of the most powerful monarch in Europe, of his wife and sister, of Brissot, Couthon, and Robespierre, of princes, legislators, plebeians, and philosophers; of all ages, sexes, and parties; of honest men, fools, and rogues; with the same *sang froid* he murdered virtue, beauty, innocence, as he did

vice and villany. All were alike to him; his conscience and his sleep was never for a moment disturbed; he eat his dinner, drank his bottle, and went to the play in the evening, as if nothing had happened.

Great are the advantages to be derived from the study of characters. The first, is to guard us against the arts and the frauds of designing men. The next is, by adiligent attention to the vices and virtues of others, to form our own minds and conduct on principles of virtue and honor; to see the ridiculous light in which the follies of others are held by the world; to consider the effects of virtue on the happiness of society and individuals; and to be satisfied, that, tho' force and fraud, may triumph for a time, yet that nothing is permanent, but truth, justice, and honesty.

THE FEELINGS.

Homo sum; humani nihil, a me alienum.

TER.

THE tear of sensibility, in the rough language of the Roman satirist, is the best part of our nature, and certainly nothing renders a man so amiable, as strong feelings either of pain or pleasure; other qualities may make him great or respectable, but a feeling heart can alone make him beloved, can alone give him a claim to be called a good man. To be dead to the charms of nature and art, to the tender emotions of affection and pity, or to the lively sensations of sympathy, is to live in a state of moral torpor, which deprives us of half the pleasures of existence, and the most enviable privilege of human beings. All people feel for themselves, but few feel for others, therefore he who takes the greatest interest in the pains or happiness of his fellow-creatures, most

deserves their esteem, and he who feels the least, excites in proportion their pity or contempt. In a world so full of misery as that in which (for wise purposes no doubt) we are placed, he must have a callous heart who does not often meet with occasions to call forth his compassion and sympathy. To feel for, and relieve, the distresses of those to whom we are most nearly related by the ties of connection or blood, is not merely a duty, but a necessity from which we can scarcely be acquitted, except by some very peculiar circumstances. To feel for, and relieve, the distresses of those who are out of the line of our acquaintance or connections, is a duty which we owe to each other, on account of our common nature, and as members of the same society; yet it is a duty not merely neglected, but seldom thought of, for even those who have it most in their power, do not often move out of their own sphere, to seek for and relieve distress. If they perform the common offices of kindness to their friends, and pay the rates which are levied for the poor, they think themselves not only just, but generous, and if their benevolence is solicited for any thing further, they answer that taxes are high, and the poor are well provided for; they hug themselves in their own comforts,

and turn a deaf ear to the sufferings of others.

To act on all occasions from the immediate impulse of compassion, will frequently expose us to ridicule, and sometimes to serious inconvenience. To give way to the more violent feelings upon all occasions will produce caprice, inconsistency and cruelty, and deprive us of all merit as accountable agents, for no man can deserve great praise for his conduct who acts more from feeling than principle. Feeling without judgment, is melody without harmony, and judgment without feeling, is harmony without melody. The world is too full of misery and deceit, to make it safe for any man to be guided solely by his feelings; for he who listens to every tale of woe, without stopping to examine whether it is true or false, and even he who attempts to relieve actual distress, whenever it is presented to him, will himself, in time, become an object of relief. Let not this warning, however, tend in any degree to deaden our feelings for worthy objects and occasions; they will be sufficiently numerous to employ both our hearts and our hands, if we are willing to exert them under proper regulations; but let us by no means ever give way to their irregular exercise, or to affectation and vanity, for nothing is so disgusting as the

whine of tenderness, the mere cant of feeling, the parade of sympathy; they bring the best part of our nature into disrepute, and prevent many a man from being generous, lest he should be thought ridiculous. Men of true feeling talk the least about it; they shew it by their actions, while those who wish to be thought what they are not, endeavor to impose upon others by mere words; but, in fact, they only deceive themselves, for occasions must perpetually arise where their conduct will give the lie to their professions.

To lament the departure or the loss of our friends is a feeling so natural and amiable, as hardly to be capable of being indulged to excess; yet when it injures our health, destroys our happiness, or interferes with our duty to those who remain behind, it has then exceeded its proper bounds, and ought to be restrained; but these limits are not to be prescribed by vulgar minds, for they cannot judge at what point the indulgence of our feelings is to be stopped, nor how far men of tender sensibility may be allowed to proceed, before they have given that full expression to their sorrow, which nature seems to require. To check these effusions of grief by the cold suggestions of prudence, only irritates us the more, for

nothing but the reason of the sufferer, or the diversion of the mind to other thoughts and objects, can gently soothe and wear out that affliction, which those who do not feel, in vain attempt to console.

The feelings of affection for our children and relatives seem to be of so amiable a nature, as hardly to need any restraint; yet, experience, both with regard to ourselves and others, convinces us, that even these may be dangerous, when indulged to excess, The parent who listens to nothing but the perpetual suggestions of tenderness towards his children, will soon find that he has been fatally mistaken, and if he forbears to speak in the language of severity or contradiction, when the weakness of childish desires demands what is dangerous or improper, he will soon repent of his delicate feelings, and find that what was meant in kindness turns out to be cruelty. The perpetual repetition of indulgence, forms a temper of expectation, impatience, and peevishness under disappointment, which can never be corrected, even by time and experience, for custom is so much stronger than reason, that what we have been long used to, we do not perceive to be wrong.

Tho' no parent, possessed of the common feelings of our nature, can avoid being anxious

for the welfare and happiness of his family, yet there are some men whose anxiety keeps them in a perpetual state of agitation; they can hardly bear to part with their children out of their sight, when young, and even when older, when their education or employments take them from home, the fond parent remains in a state of constant anxiety. The moment of parting is an agony next to death, and the state of separation is attended with perpetual alarms. He expects to hear from them with watchful impatience, and is ever tremblingly alive to all that concerns their success, their honor, their comfort, their happiness, and their improvement. Such a state of feeling, tho' produced by the most amiable motives, is not only painful, but little short of ridiculous; yet the world will bear me witness that is not uncommon. There are many parents who consult nothing but their feelings in all that regards their children; whatever they wish for, they give them, wherever they wish to go, they are permitted, and nothing short of positive evil is forbidden or denied. The natural consequence of all this is, that the feelings of the parent by being at first complied with, are afterwards perpetually tormented; for children who are early and constantly indulged, are

strangers to that very delicacy of feeling which is the cause of their ruin; because having experienced no difficulties, they know not how to appreciate the value of that which they acquire by mere impatience, and in return for the mistaken tenderness with which they have been treated, they frequently treat their too indulgent parents, with harshness and contempt. Such children are generally hard-hearted towards their equals and companions, for being accustomed to constant compliance with all that they demand, they resent the slightest contradiction, with that violence which is natural to those who have never known restraint.

The feelings of aversion and dislike towards their children, are, in some parents, as strong as those of partiality in others. The latter, tho' more blameable in the parent, are often not so injurious to the child; yet whoever is actuated solely by his feelings, whether tender or violent, will be generally in the wrong. Affection may be felt for those to whom we have naturally no relation, and it is the best bond of friendship, for cold esteem can never supply the place of love, nor can we ever take a lively interest in the concerns of those for whom we feel not a regard as ardent as the warmest affection can

dictate; without affection there can be no friendship.

The feelings of tenderness, and regard for our friends and relatives, form the most amiable part of our nature, and nothing can impress the world with a more favorable opinion of any man's character, than his kindness to his nearest connections. Some there are, indeed, so dull, so cold, so selfish, so hardened, and so impenetrable, as to have little claim to our regard, and if we pay them respect, it is all they are entitled to; but to be devoid of feeling toward those who deserve it, is to write our own condemnation, and bear about with us a sentence of excommunication from all virtuous and refined society. Yet, tho' we ought to feel for our friends every sentiment of tenderness and affection, we are not to take it for certain that they are at all times right, nor defend them at all hazards. Tho' we should feel for their injuries, we should always reprove their offences; and tho' we ought to take a lively interest in all that concerns their welfare, we should not therefore be guilty of injustice to others, nor attempt to depreciate their rivals or competitors. The feelings of affection and friendship are not superior to the claims of justice, or the dictates of prudence.

The tender emotions of sorrow or regret which we feel at parting with those who are most dear to us, tho' they cannot, and ought not to be destroyed, may be restrained, when they affect our happiness or disturb our repose. Yet it is difficult to banish the tender remembrance of past pleasures, and to forget those who have enlivened us by their good humour, soothed us by their gentleness, or improved us by their sage admonitions. Such friends, every hour must recal to our memory, and if death has torn them from us for ever, tho' we should not, like the poet, refuse to set bounds to our grief, we at least may be permitted to lament that they no longer continue to enliven our existence, and to remember with gratitude those happy moments whose loss we never can cease to deplore. Should distance only have removed them from our sight, hope may alleviate the pains of separation, and soften those feelings which it is impossible in tender minds entirely to suppress; and yet to bear the being parted from those whom we regard with virtuous affection, and cherish with sincere esteem, requires a degree of fortitude which time and reason can alone afford.

The feelings of pity are, of all others, the most amiable, yet such is the cruelty of the

world, that, when indulged in to excess, they expose us to the most ridicule and contempt.—The idea of weakness is always attached to the man who is subject to the overflowings of compassion, because the distress which excites those emotions is so easily counterfeited, that those who are not constantly on their guard, are liable to be imposed on by artful pretenders; and nothing can render us so contemptible in the eyes of the world, as being deceived even by plausible pretences, for it bespeaks a want of judgment, which the world is always disposed to laugh at or condemn.

Our pity may be excited by a variety of objects, but those of bodily pain or want most forcibly press upon our notice; these are obvious to every eye, and from every hand that possesses the means, they claim immediate and substantial relief, while the wants, the pains, and distresses of the mind can be known only to those who are more nearly acquainted with the sufferers, and these it is not in every man's power to alleviate. Ignorance, when arising from poverty, can only be removed by the means which are applied to bodily wants, and distress can only be soothed by the tenderest attentions. To commiserate the suffering part of mankind, in every clime and country, is not

merely a feeling, but a duty. Humane and tender minds are irresistibly impelled to it, if they are cultivated by knowledge, and expanded by philanthropy: yet what we pity, it is not always in our power to relieve. Pecuniary aid can be imparted to few, the efforts of the mind may be extended to all. Whether it is the duty of him who feels for the distresses of his fellow-creatures to use every moral means for their relief, has been doubted by those who restrain their benevolence to the objects which come immediately under their notice. In every rank and department of life, there are many that excite our pity, who are not within the power of our relief; there are many, who, tho' subject to no bodily wants, nor to any particular distress of mind, are yet to be pitied for their ignorance, their privations, and their deficiency of mental resources. Yet far be it from me to render any one unhappy by ideal grievances, or to suggest to them the wants which they do not feel; for they are in no need of pity who are content, tho' their happiness is limited within narrow bounds. To make those unhappy who have all they wish for, by urging them to seek for more, is not kindness, but cruelty; yet ignorance to a certain point is misery, and they who have no

knowledge of their rights and duties as members of society, are in the lowest state of ignorance. Beyond this, all our knowledge is superfluous, and by no means essential to happiness, or even to comfort.

The feelings of pity which are excited by private distress, may be equally extended to the distresses of a whole people, and he must have a callous heart, who does not sympathize with the sufferings of oppressed and injured nations. To hear of the defeat and misery of those who are struggling to be free; who feel their degraded state, and yet are unsuccessful in their attempts to improve it, and who finally are compelled to yield to the sword of the oppressor, must excite in every feeling heart the liveliest emotions of pity and regret; but to be an eye-witness of the desolation and slavery of oppressed countries, is almost too great a trial for men of refined sensibility.

Who that is endowed with common sensibility, can forbear to commiserate the lot of those unhappy females, who, with small fortunes and disgusting persons, have been neglected by man, and seem almost abandoned by heaven, who are, as the poet describes them,

"Young, without lovers; old, without a friend!—"

who are above the wants of poverty, yet without the indulgences of wealth, whose early education has left their minds unimproved, and whose tempers have been soured by disappointment. Some of them, indeed, there are, who are good natured, cheerful, and resigned, and are comfortable without much enjoyment; but others among them find their only happiness, in envy, detraction, and calumny, who are gratuitously wicked, and delight in mischief for mischief's sake. It is from such people we form our ideas of the devil. Yet even these deserve our pity, for they are what they are, not by their own fault or choice, but by that unfortunate lot which has denied to them, what others more abundantly enjoy. There are some in whom beauty has not been able to supply the want of fortune, and others to whom nature has been less kind, yet all have a claim to our pity for having failed to obtain the most enviable rank which women can hold in society.

The sorrows of the fatherless, the friendless, and the aged, at all times demand our pity and relief; but there are cases which call more particularly for our interference. When the loss of parents or friends is aggravated by poverty, or by the cruelty and oppression of

the inhuman, no good man can hold himself excused from exerting every means in his power to redress their wrongs, and relieve their distresses, and when the danger of vice is added to all their other misfortunes, it becomes a duty of morality, rather than an impulse of feeling, to preserve them from ruin and from death, for the enemy of vice is the benefactor of society. The feebleness of old age, even in its best state of comfort, cannot fail to excite our pity, and, when not rendered contemptible by vice or folly, demands our respect. No feelings of detestation, therefore, can be sufficiently strong towards those who neglect, in their declining years, their parents, and benefactors, and still more towards those who make the weakness and deformities of this helpless state, the subject of mockery or insult. Superstition and ignorance might be added to the list of the means by which the tender feelings are destroyed; and the vulgar, who labor under both, are generally coarse and cruel; in proportion as these evils are corrected by the progress of reason and information, they become affectionate and tender. In former times it is hardly credible how much many poor old women suffered from the reputation of being witches; they were dragged through horse-

relieve, is the lesson of scripture and morality.

The feelings of the public are often very strongly excited, both in the country, and in towns, by the exposition or the pretence of poverty and distress; yet, it is a question with many great moralists, Whether common beggars ought to be relieved? I should decide to the contrary; for tho' it should happen that actual misery may by that means be sometimes neglected, yet the general consequences of giving such relief are so dangerous, that, for the sake of the principle, we ought rather to get the better of our first feelings, than increase an evil which is already too extensive. In a well regulated country there should be no beggars, and was every one, according to his ability, to relieve the distress which immediately surrounds him, there could be none, even in the present unequal division of things, and with a more extensive population. To those who give no other alms, I should recommend to relieve beggars, for by that means, they may chance to do some good, tho' possibly some evil. I only condemn the general principle; but they who are used to employ the means of relieving distress which fortune has put in their power, by seeking for the wretched within the sphere of their inter-

course, will certainly misemploy their money by giving any part of it to impudent mendicity.

The emotions of pity cannot always be restrained by the cold maxims of prudence, nor is it right that they should. The sight of distress strikes so irresistibly to the heart, that men of strong feelings have no time to consider their own safety, at the idea of a fellow-creature in danger, and many a human being has been spared to the world and to his friends, by a sudden impulse of feeling in some benevolent spectator, who has risqued his own life to save that of another. Instances, however, frequently arise, where, in the execution of our duty to society, the feelings of pity to individuals must be suppressed, and mercy must give place to justice; yet it by no means from thence ensues, that men in public stations should banish from their breasts all feeling and commiseration for the sufferings of mankind, and it would tend much to diminish the miseries of the world, if those on whom the destinies of nations and individuals so often depend, were possessed of more tender feelings, or did not suffer their genuine emotions of pity to be so frequently destroyed. We should not then have thousands slaughtered for the sport or obstinacy of an individual, nor

their friends and relatives reduced to distress, for the mistakes, the ignorance, or the ambition of a minister. Did they who dispose of the lives and happiness of their fellow-creatures by the mere breath of their mouth, or the dash of a pen, ever witness the destruction they occasion; did they hear the cries and groans of the dying, the distress of their relatives, the miserable widows of murdered soldiers wandering for many hundred miles with their helpless infants; did they see those sights, and were not totally steeled against compassion, perhaps they might pause before they signed the dreadful death warrant, to reflect on the justice of their cause, which can never be complete till the means of conciliation have been exhausted.

Whenever pity is suffered to take place of every other consideration, it will, in many cases, lead us into difficulties and improprieties; it will create other feelings than those which were at first excited, and weaken our resolution where it is most required, It has often been remarked, that pity melts the mind to love; but without the direction of prudence, it is in danger of an improper choice. The greatest of dramatic poets has taken this for the groundwork in one of his finest tragedies, and repre-

sented Desdemona, in her attachment to Othello, to have been led on from pity to love.—

"She loved me for the dangers I had past;
"And I loved her that she did pity them."

The progress is natural, and admirably conceived.

The feelings of pity are those which, of all others, are most frequently excited, and, when exercised with judgment, are the most extensively useful; they tend above all others to lighten the calamities of the world, to teach us to bear one another's burdens, and to divide the general load of human misery, for there is no situation in which a man can be entirely exempt from the pity of his fellow-creatures, nor entirely above their power to relieve.—Even the great are not removed from suffering, nor are the poorest beneath notice, and pity is due even to the profligate and abandoned, whether successful in their vices, or sufferers, neglected and despised. But here our pity may sometimes be carried to excess, when the wicked are relieved, without any consideration of their crimes, and the profligate spendthrift, and the ruined gamester, are fostered with the same commiseration, as the unfortunate, innocent victim of mischance or villainy.

Whenever the violence of our feelings for the distressed so far overcomes our active powers, as to disable us from giving that relief which reason and humanity demand, sensibility then ceases to be an estimable quality, and becomes an injury both to ourselves and others; for the mere feelings of compassion, if they are never matured into action, are of no more service to our fellow-creatures than the gold which lies hid in the mines of Potosi. Yet, in some men, the affectation of feeling is mistaken for true sensibility. It is easy, however, to distinguish the gold from the dross, for they who are possessed of the genuine sympathies of pity, never fail to relieve, as far as they are able, the distresses they deplore; while they who only affect to be tender-hearted, will shun the objects they ought to turn to with kind solicitude, and, in conversation, they will whine for a few minutes over a tale of woe, and then fly to some other subject with hasty indifference. Others there are, who, tho' possessed of feelings, are yet unwilling to exercise them, lest they should clash with some favorite interest, lest they should induce a call upon their purse, or require their active interference; these men behold, or listen to, for a while, the sufferings of their fellow-creatures with tender-

ness and sensibility, but finding their feelings become too powerful to be any longer trusted, make their retreat in time, and turn to some object either more pleasing to them, or totally indifferent, while they sooth their consciences, and save their characters by the plea of inability, and the number of the distressed. The world applauds them for their resolution, and receives them with the triumph due to those who have overcome their enemies, while, with sardonic sneer, it smiles at the weakness of those who comply with their feelings, even without injury to their fortune or comfort.

Those who are most remarkable for the expression of feeling in their writings and conversation, do not always shew the same degree of sensibility in their conduct, and it would be easy to produce many instances, both of dead and living authors, who have expressed the most glowing ardor of compassion, without ever performing a tender or generous action; in common life, their feelings evaporate, and, like the generality of the world, they are cold, selfish, and sordid.

The emotions of joy, tho' violent, are short and transitory, subsiding by degrees into calm satisfaction, yet they are, of all our other feelings, the most difficult to be controlled, for,

being suddenly excited, it is hardly possible to be upon our guard against their attacks. The unexpected news of some happy event, or the unlooked-for return of some long-lost friend, has been known to cause such a violent agitation of the whole frame, as to deprive the person affected, of life. Such instances are not uncommon, and cannot be provided against, as they depend wholly on the nature of the event, or the nervous system of the sufferer; yet, in regulating the more common expressions of these feelings, we ought to be guided by the dictates of reason and propriety.

Public sensations of joy are often very foolishly expressed, and sometimes not less so in private. When the multitude give loose to theirs, it is generally without moderation or decency; their numbers excuse their follies, and the flame of sympathy flies from one to another, without giving them time to consider whether they are right or wrong. The foolish custom of illuminations on joyful events is beginning to be disused, and our exultation will be more rationally expressed, by making the poor rejoice with us. The connection between light and pleasure is easily formed, yet it is trifling and ridiculous, and contains only the expression of our first feelings, to which,

when those of sober reason succeed, we smile at our folly, and seek for some more laudable demonstrations of joy. These effusions are always to be dreaded in mobs that are not thoroughly civilized, but among a people who do not connect the ideas of drunkenness and riot with those of exultation and gratitude, their expressions of satisfaction are peaceable, rational, and harmonious.

Nothing can make a man more thoroughly ridiculous, than extravagant expressions of joy, even on great occasions, but where the event is not of sufficient importance to interest the feelings of those around him, he becomes ludicrous and contemptible. The different methods in which coarse and polished people express their satisfaction, make one striking difference between them; those of the former are sensual, intemperate, and violent; those of the latter are refined, rational, and elegant: theirs is the mirth that "after no repenting brings," the lively dance, the cheerful song, the harp, the viol, and the tabret. The vulgar have no method of expressing their feelings on joyful occasions, but by drunkenness and noise, and for hours of mirth they suffer weeks of pain and repentance. The effusions of polished minds, at their own happiness, or that of their

friends, are shewn in benevolence to those around them and innocent expressions of festivity.

The feelings of indignation and resentment border nearly on each other, yet the former seem to be more personal than the latter, and are more nearly allied to virtue, for a generous indignation at the sight of meanness or villainy, is among the noblest of our feelings. To spurn at a base or contemptible action is the characteristic of a great and virtuous mind, exalted above the gross temptations of money or interest. To be indignant at the mean artifices of ambition, or the exulting confidence of successful villainy, is a feeling which does honor to our nature, and places us in the highest rank of human beings; yet to be easily excited to indignation on slight and frivolous grounds, exposes us to ridicule and contempt. The man who blusters when no one meant to offend him, and talks of resenting injuries which were never intended, may possess strong feelings of resentment and honor, but they will hardly preserve him from insult; other feelings in excess may excite our pity, but these can only raise a frown or a smile. The emotions of indignation against those by whom we have been injured, are difficult to be repressed; for self-defence

being the first impulse of our nature, we are irresistibly impelled to retaliate upon those who attack our person, our peace, or our property; yet the method in which we regulate our feelings upon such occasions, makes the great difference between men of savage and cultivated minds. With the former, the slightest injury is not only resented, but suffered to ripen into malice and revenge; their enemies are persecuted with the utmost implacable hatred, even unto death, and the injuries of the father are often handed down to the son, from generation to generation, till they become a kind of family inheritance; such direful feuds are found to exist not only in the earliest stages of the world, but even in those which are comparatively civilized. The resentments of polished and cultivated minds, even for the severest injuries, are never suffered to transgress the bounds of decorum, nor to disturb the peace of society. Good manners prevent them from noticing slight injuries or affronts; while religion, philosophy, and reason, forbid the exercise of resentment for severer ones beyond the disposition requisite to prevent future attacks, beyond a temperate appeal to law and justice. In such cases, a man of strong feelings will naturally be led to shew,

that he is not insensible of injury, but he will repress those feelings when they are likely to become passions; he will moderate his indignation and resentment, when he perceives them ripen into revenge; he will forbear to disturb the peace of his friends or society by any violent display of those emotions, which are, and ought to be, merely personal. To endeavour to make others a party in our quarrels and disputes till we find our enemies have done so before us to the injury of our character and interest, bespeaks a selfish, mean, and irritable disposition, totally incompatible either with the meekness of christianity, or the sober dignity of philosophy; it is the strongest evidence of an uncultivated and illiberal mind; it shews a want of education, want of good manners, and a want even of common decency; for, why should our feelings be the rule and standard of other peoples'? why should we expect them to take up our quarrels, in things that only interest ourselves? why should we disturb the peace of others with our grievances? Whoever, therefore, in such cases, suffers his resentment to get the better of his judgment, and makes the first appeal to the public, is answerable for all the ill consequences which must inevitably attend the excesses of indignation and irritability.

The lesser irritations of the feelings, which produce peevishness and petulance, ought equally to be guarded against; for, tho' not so extensively dangerous as those which grow up into malice and revenge, they tend to sour the comforts and disturb the harmony of society. Men of fine feelings are, in every rank of life, liable to be perpetually annoyed by indelicacy, coarseness, and violence; nay, they are even liable to be irritated by the apathy or want of similar feelings in those with whom they spend a great part of their time; they ought therefore, to be particularly careful to conceal, as far as possible, their resentment and disgust at what only concerns themselves. Things which give no pain to common men, are capable of striking to the heart of those who possess tender and refined feelings. A smile, a look, or a frown, may give a stab, on particular occasions, which hardly admits of palliation or remedy. No man can live long in the world, without meeting with ingratitude, neglect and cruelty; these misfortunes he should learn to bear with a manly spirit, and if he is conscious of not having deserved them, he should summon to his aid that self-importance which is our best support in all difficulties, and teaches us to despise our persecutors. Some men are apt to

value the opinion of the world too highly, and others to treat it with too much contempt, the latter is the more dangerous extreme, for as the love of praise is the strongest motive of action, the man who is indifferent to it, will most likely be indifferent to censure, and therefore liable to disregard the rigid dictates of morality.

Politeness has been called artificial benevolence, it is, however, more properly the counterfeit of feeling. To disguise our own feelings and to respect those of other people, is the sum of good breeding, for tho' there are a thousand little attentions to the wants and pleasures of others which mere politeness can never reach, and can only proceed from genuine sensibility, yet it is an excellent restraint upon our feelings in some cases, and an excellent substitute for them in others; it softens all that little, peevish irritability, to which even the best men are sometimes liable; it makes many people pleased with themselves, who have little else to be pleased with, and contributes more than many greater qualities, to sweeten the intercourse of society. How any man can coolly do that which he knows must offend the feelings of another, merely to relieve himself from some trifling inconvenience, or to obtain a temporary satisfaction, I

am at a loss to imagine. Nothing either in our words or actions which can excite an unpleasant sensation in other people, can be well bred, however, it may be sanctioned by fashion or example.

The feelings of displeasure are nearly connected with those of resentment, and perhaps their difference depends more on the situation of the parties, than on their disposition. Men are frequently displeased at things which they either do not choose, or have not the power, to resent. Displeasure is often more lasting, tho' not so violent, as resentment, and therefore it ought, in most cases, to be more watchfully restrained, because it frequently creates greater uneasiness to all parties.

The feelings of shame are those which, of all others, the least require restraint, for they are the strongest check upon immorality, indecency, and every species of moral deviation; yet when they are excited for light and trifling causes, or when they proceed from that false modesty which is frequently the attendant of youth and ignorance, they ought to be resisted, as being both painful to the mind of the sufferer, and injurious to his future interest. The gentle blush of innocence is its best security, and modesty gives a double attraction to female

charms. The loud, coarse laugh, the broad stare, the impudent leer, which was once the distinction of prostitutes, may have become fashionable, but it can never become amiable. The feelings of ingenuous shame which mark the modest youth at the commission of impropriety, or the suspicion of a crime, are so far from being incompatible with manly dignity, that they are the best characteristic of young minds, and the most happy presage of future virtues. The "*ingenui vultus puer ingenuique pudoris*," tho' hackneyed by frequent repetition can never lose its value with men who possessany sense of purity and honesty. Villains and profligates may laugh at innocence and integrity, but they who retain any of their early feelings at the commission of vice or crime, will smile at the reproaches of hardened offenders. 'Tis a good maxim to teach the young, to feel shame at nothing but a bad action; yet how many are there, both young and old, who experience the most uncomfortable feelings at things which are neither wicked nor improper. Young people, who have either been brought up with great restraint at home, or unused to mix in company, feel shy, reserved, and awkward, when they have occasion to go more into the world; this is justly called false shame, and

ought to be early prevented, because a degree of modest confidence is requisite for every young man who wishes to get through life with any degree of ease or comfort. By these false feelings, which are difficult to be overcome even in advanced age, many a man has been prevented from exercising his talents for conversation, and saying in company what might have repressed the insolence of talkative ignorance, and given a weight to his own character, which false modesty and reserve can never acquire. Forwardness and impudence are certainly disgusting, yet false shame is attended with much inconvenience. The progress of reason has banished much of that foolish modesty, which used to make one man ashamed to look another in the face, because he happened to be richer or nobler than himself. Such follies are now exploded; and tho' a due respect to rank is preserved (without which no state of civilized society can subsist), yet an honest man, in any rank or station, may look the proudest lord in the face, without shame or blushing; 'tis vice only that ought to be confounded.

The feelings of impatience, in irritable minds, are not easy to be restrained, for they are always in proportion to the degree of interest

which we take in that which is expected; yet they expose us to much inconvenience, and frequently to serious injury; for they who cannot command themselves to wait for the tardy arrival of that which they are desirous to possess, be it of great or of little moment, will be often liable to have others take advantage of their impatience. Nothing can be well done which is done in a haste, for time is requisite to bring all things to maturity. They who rashly undertake any concern, either public or private, and expect all the advantages of it immediately, will frequently be disappointed, and sometimes cheated. Whether in trade, in love, in war, in agriculture, in marriage, in learning, in science, or in politics, success is the tardy fruit of time and experience; and he who cannot command his feelings to wait for the result of his exertions, but expects the event to succeed immediately to the conception or commencement of his design, will never achieve any thing which can produce satisfaction to himself, or advantage to the rest of society.

The feelings of aversion or disgust are those to which men of superior minds are most liable. The world is too full of misery, vice, and meanness, not to give continual offence to men

of refined and generous feelings; but notwithstanding there may be great excuse for being frequently disgusted with vice and folly, yet we ought to be careful not to permit these feelings to degenerate into sullen misanthropy; with this caution it may be fully allowable to express our aversion and contempt for every species of levity, iniquity, and treachery.

Sympathy is the foundation of love, friendship, patriotism, and all the noblest energies and passions of the human mind; for, without partaking and entering very strongly into the feelings of others, we never could experience those sensations which enable us to feel as they feel, " to rejoice with them that do rejoice," or to mourn with those that are afflicted. The feelings of sympathy may, however, be carried to excess; they may dispose us to weep over those who deserve no pity, and to succor that distress which is the merited effect of imprudence. By the feelings it is chiefly that men have any hold upon each other, in those things where force cannot, or ought not, to be applied.

Under the general name of feelings, are comprised those strong susceptibilities of pleasure and pain which are peculiar to tender and sensitive minds, and which form the most amia-

able part of the human character. Men of this description feel acutely both for themselves and others; while the generality of the world are easily roused to indignation, resentment, contempt, displeasure, and impatience; but they have no pity, tenderness, nor sympathy; they feel acutely for themselves, but the sufferings of others they never regard.

A strong susceptibility of pleasure is one of the most enviable privileges of our nature; without this, we are in a manner lost to all that is great and good, to moral and to natural beauty, to virtue and to taste; the charms of nature and of art are hid from our sight; the sun shines, the flowers bloom, and the birds sing to us in vain, if we are not sensible of their delights. The lively imitations of nature which art has learned to produce, are nothing to him who has no relish for their beauties; and the charms of refined society are mere nonsense to the wretch who possesses neither delicacy of feeling, nor elevation of sentiment; he lives a blank in the creation, consuming the fruits of the earth; he performs the dull drudgery of existence, blindfold and mechanically. To the feeling heart, there are a thousand sources of delight, a thousand pleasures and a thousand pains, for the one cannot be had

without the other. The same sensitive organization which renders us susceptible of the most refined extasies of pleasure, leaves us also exposed to the rude touch of misfortune, of offence, and injury; yet since our frame is inevitably exposed to sensations of pain, and the constitution of our nature cannot be altered, we should ever be upon our guard against sudden attacks, and blunt the edge of calamity or offence by the firmness of reason and prudence. Men of too great sensibility are apt to be fastidious and disgusted with things around them; such a disposition, when carried to excess, is troublesome both to ourselves and others, but I despise a man who is pleased with every thing, for such a man must either have very little judgment, or very little feeling.

How many sources of amusement are there for those who are capable of receiving pleasure from refined enjoyments, compared with those who have no gratifications but such as are sordid and sensual! The man who possesses a feeling and cultivated mind, receives delight from the varied pleasures of poetry, music, painting, and all the imitative arts; from rural scenery, and from the happiness of others in all ranks and stations. A man of true sensibility feels his heart expand when he partakes, or

even reads, of the felicity which others enjoy, Such a man is a blessing to his species, he extends his beneficent influence to all around him, he attaches himself to every human being who deserves his regard, and flies from none but those who are selfish, cold, and hard-hearted; from such he turns with aversion and disdain, to seek for solace and enjoyment with minds congenial to his own, who are disposed to confer happiness, and rejoice to have the means and opportunities of doing so. Sensibility attaches itself even to inanimate objects, for the house, the village, or the tree, to which we have been long accustomed, are considered with a degree of affectionate regard, and if they are connected with ideas of happiness in our youth, they hold a place in our esteem which borders upon friendship.—Hence also the affection which we show to the country that contains the place of our birth, when endeared to us by the remembrance of past delights. These are the feelings which do honor to our nature, and which it is easier to experience than to describe; they cannot, indeed, be adequately described by any power of language, but their beneficent effects may be felt by all who come within the sphere of their influence, and those who possess them can never

fail to be a blessing to their friends and to society.

Who that has a spark of sensibility, does not turn with the mingled feelings of pity and disgust from the sight of the wretched prostitute, whether shivering in rags, or flaunting in the gaudy trappings of slavery? yet even these feelings are sometimes overcome by the strength of irrisistible passion, but they can never be wholly destroyed in a tender and sensitive heart. The excess of sensibility, whether excited by pleasure or pain, not only tends to make us ridiculous, but in some cases, if carried to a great length, would put a stop to the common operations of the world; for some men have extended their feelings so far, as to be shocked at the idea of putting to death those animals which are requisite for our food and sustenance, and without which the world would, in time, be overstocked.

Poets are men of lively imagination, which, in general, produces tender feelings, they are therefore, more liable to eccentricities than other men, and may therefore more easily be pardoned; yet they sometimes cannot avoid being ridiculous to those whose feelings are either less acute, or better restrained. Many a tender elegy has been written on the death of

a titmouse, and some have even lamented the fate of a fly. Thomson whines for a whole page, over the plunder of a bee-hive, which is very pretty in poetry, but ridiculous in real life, for most animals when they have answered the end of their creation, must be destroyed in some way or other; yet if this foolish feeling were indulged to a greater extent, we might neither eat nor drink, for even water contains a thousand insects, which, when we swallow, suffer a death not less painful, than bees or fishes when they are killed.

The feelings of individuals for the public, or of the public for individuals, are treated by men of cold and selfish hearts as chimerical and ridiculous; some men deny their existence, and others smile at them as romantic and childish, yet history and experience will testify that they have existed, and reason does not disdain to acknowledge their utility. Who that does not regard his species with indifference, or concentrate all his affections within the narrow limits of his friends, can forbear to feel for the miseries of those, who, tho' personally unknown to him, have that strong claim to compassion which is founded in the similarity of our nature. A heathen poet could exclaim, "*Homo sum, nil humanum a me alienum puto;*" and christians

have a nearer connection with each other.—Who can hear that thousands have perished by war, by disease, or famine, without feeling for their miserable fate, or for the still severer sufferings of those whom they have left behind? Who can see, unmoved, the distress or calamity of a great nation sinking under accumulated burthens, which must press to ruin innumerable helpless and innocent sufferers? The man who partakes not in these feelings, I should be sorry to own as my friend, for, tho' he might say, that his mind was wholly engrossed by a regard for his own connections, I should be tempted to suspect his sincerity. Benevolence is sometimes mistaken for feeling, but they are totally distinct; the one is a principle formed by reason and reflection, the other is an impulse arising from quick perceptions, or a delicacy of nerves. Great men have in all ages called forth the sympathy of the public in their triumphs, their defeats, their miseries, their adversity, and prosperity.

The sensibility of infants, tho' it depends greatly on their bodily constitution, may be heightened or lessened by the treatment they receive, and the ideas with which they are early impressed. Too great indulgence, it has already been remarked, destroys sensibility, but

too great severity will have the same effect.—The child who has been constantly beaten and frowned upon, will grow up coarse, savage, and cruel; but if the rebukes of a father are softened by the tenderness and caresses of a mother, or any other person, the child so treated will probably possess more sensibility than any other. It is wise to teach children as early as possible to have a regard for the feelings of others, by telling them, that their misbehaviour gives uneasiness to their friends.

The occasions which excite our feelings depend not always on ourselves, but on external circumstances; yet, lest they become dull and torpid, we should avoid no opportunity by which they may be exercised for any good purpose; and, numerous events will arise in the life and concerns of every man connected with society, to call forth his sensibilities in the service of others. The pains or pleasures of our children, friends, and relatives; the concerns even of our acquaintance, and the attachment which we owe to our country, will give us frequent occasions to grieve and to rejoice, if we take an interest in the happiness of others.—Sensibility in those who are blessed with feeling minds, is easily excited, and sometimes with difficulty repressed; yet even in those who

have possessed it most strongly in their early youth, it may be destroyed by a thousand causes; by poverty, by riches, by avarice, by dissipation, by gaming, by ambition, by power, by religion, by custom, by prejudice, and by sufferings.

The excess either of riches or poverty is equally destructive of that tender sensibility to pleasure and pain, which may sometimes render us miserable, tho' always amiable. The poor have no leisure to think of any thing but their mere physical wants, and the labor by which these are supplied, and, therefore, tho' in infancy they may have possessed the tenderest feelings, yet these feelings are generally blunted as they grow older, and are compelled to struggle for a living. Sometimes, however, we meet in lower life with those who have not been deprived of this best part of their nature, who are affectionate, gentle, and tender; who still possess those quick sensibilities, which make them feel the coarseness and cruelty of their superiors, and lament their miserable dependence.

Riches have, indeed, a worse effect than even poverty, on the tender feelings of the heart, for they who are poor may sometimes sympathize with those who suffer under the same lot as

themselves, but the rich are too far removed from the evils of life, to feel much compassion for those who are struggling with adversity. They have less chance, also, of retaining those feelings of affection and tenderness, which are seldom to be found but in those who are educated with sentiments of mutual dependence, which make one man enter into the feelings of another, by considering himself as subject to like misery. The great are educated as a distinct class in society, and seldom require each others assistance; they can always be amused, they can always be in company, and they feel less need than other people, of those tender sympathies which endear men to each other. Riches are also unfavorable to that nice discrimination of character which makes us prefer one man to another on account of his virtues or his talents, because, in a certain rank of life, men are not regarded for these qualities, but for the company they keep, or the money they spend. No wonder that those who make no proper selection of their company, should be insensible to those things which alone ought to attach men to each other. The rich, in general, view with little interest the joys and sorrows of those beneath them, and consider the poor as a race of beings born only for their plea-

sure and convenience; they can have little regard, therefore, for their feelings, and they relieve their natural wants, merely from the selfish idea that it is for their own interest.

The same want of feeling for the indigent, extends itself through every rank of those who possess property; but if these two extremes are destructive of tenderness and sensibility, they are not more so than the determination to rise from poverty to riches, and that avarice which is the constant attendant of increasing wealth. The man who begins to taste the sweets of making a fortune, generally suffers himself to be engrossed by that single idea; he has no other pleasure, no other pursuit; he smiles at the folly of those who do not follow his example, and has no pity for distress, whether voluntary or inevitable. Every other consideration is sacrificed to the desire of becoming rich, and his heart is completely hardened against the claims of humanity.

The constant pursuit of trifling and vicious pleasure, has the most unhappy effect on the sensitive faculties. The man who suffers himself to be wholly engrossed by the thoughts of amusement, can have little relish for the pleasures of sensibility, and generally very little regard for those who are most nearly connected

with him. The thoughts of public or private misery, the loss of parents, children, or friends, are soon forgotten at a rout or a dinner party, and he who can always fly from himself, can have little feeling for others. To be alone, is the greatest punishment to him who has never been accustomed to think, but on the objects immediately before him; and the man who has never used himself to reflection, must soon wish for the sight of those things which occupy his attention without exertion or trouble, and pass before his eyes, like the objects of a magic lantern, without leaving any durable impression. The natural tendency of constant amusement, is to make men selfish and indifferent to the concerns of others, and nothing is more destructive of sensibility, than selfishness. The tender feelings, like all our other faculties, require frequent exercise to keep them alive, and can this be expected in those who are in a constant bustle of diversions, who fly from one public place to another, from plays to routs, and from routs to balls; who turn day into night, and spend the greatest part of their time in other people's houses, who are strangers to the comforts of home, and whose life is one unvaried scene of dissipation, without a moment for thought or reflection?

It is in the sober medium of moderate enjoyments that we are to look for sensibility or virtue; in a life neither engrossed by the pursuits of pleasure, ambition, nor wealth, but equally divided between duty and amusement. It is in such a life only we are to look for sensibility and attention to the feelings of others; for delicacy of sentiment, purity of morals, and tenderness of heart.

The passion for gaming tends more than any other to harden the heart, for the man who can bring himself to risque the comfort and happiness of his family on the throw of a die, must be lost to every tender feeling, and capable of being gratified only by the most violent agitations. The love of gaming can originate only in the hatred of repose, and the necessity which the mind naturally feels of being employed; hence it is found to be strong in those only who have no other means of employment. It is the opposite of every thing tender, because it contiuually excites the most boisterous of the passions; it engrosses the whole man, and he who is thoroughly devoted to it, can hardly find pleasure in any other pursuit. A gamester can have no love for his friends or family, because he constantly puts their happiness at stake; he can have no taste or feeling for the

elegant arts, because his mind is for ever agitated by those violent passions, which are the opposite of all that is tender and refined; he can have no regard for his country, because it is impossible he can be disinterested. The continual practice of playing for immense sums, must have turned his whole thoughts to his own immediate interest, and a successful gamester generally becomes a miser, a man lost to every other idea but that of money, and solely intent on accumulation or plunder.

A life of continual meditation on speculative subjects, leaves little time for the cultivation of the heart, for such is the term often given to the feelings, and few men whose studies have been remote from common life have been found to possess either refined taste or sensibility.

The pursuits of ambition are not more favorable to the cultivation and exercise of feeling, than those of any other violent passion, for they equally tend to engross the whole man, and divert his mind from all other ideas.—The enjoyment of power operates in a different manner on the feelings, not by its own immediate agency, but by the passions which it creates; by the pride and self-importance which are the constant attendants of high stations;

by the hatred, jealousy, and malice, which men in the possession of great power shew towards all those who dispute or oppose their authority.

Religion is said to take stronger possession of the mind than any other principle, and no wonder, when, in some men, the hopes which it gives of another world can make them forget the present; yet it is not true but false religion, when it takes a wrong hold of the mind, for they who can torment the body for the good of the soul, must have formed very strange notions of a Deity. The cruelties which have been committed in the name of religion, are a strong proof how much it tends to destroy the feelings of compassion; such ideas of religion are now happily banished, and a sanguinary bigot is a monster as rarely seen as an ouran-outang. Instances however, are to be found of those, in whom religion has blunted the sensibility of the mind to all pains or pleasures, either for themselves or others, except such as are derived from the contemplation of futurity. They view the calamities of life as salutary preparations for heaven, and consider the evils of the world as judgments of the Almighty, at which it is impious to murmur or repine.—Such men can have no pity for the unfortunate,

whom they consider the favorites of the Deity; nor can they lament the death of children, parents, or friends, whom they believe to be translated to a place of eternal felicity. In most of such men it is only a natural want of feeling covered by the cloke of religion.

The effects of continual exercise on the tender feelings, are little attended to by those who look superficially on the affairs of the world, and never enquire into causes. Custom, which some men call a second nature, is in truth our first, and one habit can destroy another; for the most feeling hearts may in time become steeled, by a perpetual repetition of the same objects. The soldier, who shudders in his first engagement at the sight of misery and death, becomes in time familiarized to such spectacles, and views them with indifference. The butcher, who at first lifted the knife with reluctance to shed the blood of the tender lamb, soon forgets these emotions, and goes to his murderous trade with thoughtless apathy.—And the nurse, who has long been accustomed to the groans of sickness, hears them at last without any painful or distressing emotions. It is the same with the talents, for there are few men who shew the same ability and good sense upon all subjects. Let it be remarked,

however, that custom does not extend itself beyond those things to which it has been particularly applied, and that men who are callous to one description of sufferings, are not so to every other.--Disappointment, contradiction, and constant communication with people of coarse feelings and sentiments, will blunt, and in time destroy, even the finest sensibility.—When the temper is perpetually irritated, the feelings will gradually be worn out, and they who are frequently witnesses to feigned or even real distress, will in time become callous to the one as well as the other.

The delicacy of mind which makes us alive to all the milder affections, tho' frequently the cause of pain, is nevertheless, the purest source of pleasure, for the man who possesses these affections, feels a satisfaction in the society of his friends, to which men of ruder minds are total strangers. It is not merely company that gives him pleasure, but the company of those he admires; he sees with ten-fold delight his children, his friends, and relatives, if they are dear to him, and takes an interest in every thing that concerns them with ten times more zeal, than those who barely consider it their duty to be kind to their nearest connections, and regard them rather with a kind

of mechanical affection, than with the ardor of an irresistible propensity. It will sometimes happen that too great a delicacy of feeling, either in morals or taste, may make a man uncomfortable, and his friends the same. A strong sense of rectitude in all things, may be carried to such an extreme as to become even itself an obliquity, but it is an amiable obliquity, if I may be allowed the expression.

A man who feels no pleasure in giving pleasure to others, tho' he may be a clever man, an agreeable man, or a learned man, is no more than an animated statue.—He has no feelings, sympathies, or affections in common with the rest of his species. He stands insulated from the rest of the world; all his thoughts center in himself, if not a monster of vice, he is without a single virtue—he can neither love nor be loved by any one.

The beauties of feeling and sentiment can only be understood by those who are themselves possessed of sensibility, and to such people nothing coarse or selfish can give pleasure; they feel pain at the idea of giving pain to others, and when such a disposition is adorned by elegance of manners and elevation of sentiment, it forms the highest excellence of our nature, it banishes all coarse and cruel

amusements, it puts an end to all sordid pursuits, and discountenances that unjust spirit of censoriousness and satire, which indulges itself at the expence of other men's characters and comfort. Strength and delicacy of mind, like the same qualities in the Corinthian pillar, are thoroughly compatible with each other.

Grandeur and dignity of soul are not the lot of every man, nor are they requisite in every station; but a man without feeling, in whatever station he is placed, is the disgrace of his species. A moralist, whether he writes grave disquisitions, or makes imagination the vehicle of instruction, if he possesses no delicacy of feeling, can never interest his readers. A poet without sensibility may amuse the fancy, but can never improve the heart, and a player, who undertakes to represent the tender parts, either of tragedy or comedy, without great natural feelings, is more likely to be laughed at than applauded. From tenderness and sensibility proceed all that is beautiful and pathetic in poetry, in prose, and in eloquence; sublimity may elevate, and argument may convince, but pathos alone can melt the soul to its purpose.

The sensibility of women is almost proverbial, and nothing, surely, is given to man,

which so sweetens the cup of existence.—The miseries produced by cruelty and apathy, are to be seen, felt, and heard, in every quarter of the globe. The animal creation is not exempt from the cruelty of man, and men are above measure cruel to each other; yet active cruelty is not the whole of our guilt; indifference to the sufferings of others goes to make up the sum of human misery, and every man who fails to exert his powers in the relief of distress, whenever it comes within his knowledge, contributes to the continuance of those evils which the Persians attribute to an evil principle, but which the better faith of christians imputes to the wise dispensation of providence. On the whole, tho' sensibility may be affected by external circumstances, it depends chiefly on our bodily temperament.

EDUCATION.

Rectique cultus pectora roborant. Hor.

My remarks on education, tho' they are not so numerous, nor so diffuse, as those of many modern writers, will not, I trust, be the less useful: they are intended solely for practice, and are derived from experience; for in this I have one advantage over my predecessors; I have children of my own, which cannot be said by many authors on education, ancient or modern. I do not pretend to invent plausible theories, I give plain rules, whose merits may be easily tried. I am no lover of system, tho' I admire the custom of generalizing ideas into principles; but experience is, in my opinion, the only test of excellence. To form theorectical opinions is one thing, to give practical rules is another; the one is intended for those who reason more than they act, the other for those who act without reasoning; the one is intended for philosophers, the other for those

who are no philosophers at all; the one is for the learned, the other for the world. To such I write, to the ignorant and uninformed.

EDUCATION is the best gift of parents to their children, and without it, all the advantages of fortune are only evils in disguise. Its great objects are to inspire young people with noble, elevated, and generous sentiments; to teach them to despise every thing mean and dishonest; to understand their true interest, to regulate their passions, and to cultivate the affections of the heart. Whenever we see a man misconduct himself in life, let us ask how he was brought up, what care was taken to form his mind? and nine times in ten, it will be found that his errors arise from a bad education. Learning is only a means of education, tho' it is frequently mistaken for the end, and without the dispositions above mentioned, it is a useless ornament. Every thing valuable in society depends on education, or the early formation of the mind and habits.

The great difficulty in writing upon this subject, is, to lay down precepts suited to all ranks; indeed, it is almost impossible, for there are so few things which can be common to all, that more cannot be expected, than to make the rules for forming the mind as general

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as possible, and leave them to be applied by the discretion of parents in all ranks. The studies which are suited to a man of fortune, cannot be proper for a peasant, nor are the same virtues required of the two; yet sobriety, temperance, moderation, honesty, and œconomy, are equally suited to all ranks and characters. These are not relative, but positive virtues; they are equally the interest, and tend to promote the happiness of the rich and poor; they are adapted to all times and seasons, and can never be out of place. The cultivation of the mind by those virtues which are common to all ranks, and by the pursuits which are adapted to different stations, is the great art of education, and without this is duly attended to, every thing else is either culpable or ridiculous.

There is one profession, viz. that of a soldier, whose institution and whole employment are so totally opposite to every thing here intended, that I feel an ardent wish that it could be wholly banished from the world, yet, considering the nature of man, and his tendency to propagate beyond the power of the earth to afford him subsistence, it seems hardly probable that he will ever bring himself to prevent, rather than cut off a redundant population;

war, therefore, with most of its horrors, will still continue, and man will never be completely civilized.

The commencement of education ought to be much earlier than many parents imagine, for tho' the dispositions of the mind depend in some measure on the temperament of the body, yet they are much more affected by external objects than is generally supposed. To those who maintain the existence of innate ideas, and the irresistible power of natural disposition, I must here endeavour to reply, because their error is of considerable importance, so far as it relates to the task of forming the rising generation.—A child of five minutes old cannot be supposed to have many ideas, or if it has, they must lie dormant, and wait to be called forth by time, like the words in Munchausen's speaking trumpet, congealed by the frost. On this supposition the mind must be considered as a sort of separate essence imprisoned in the body, on whose growth or decay, its exertion depends during the time they are connected together; but if the mind is nothing more than a series of impressions received by the senses, and formed into ideas, then these ideas can have no existence before the child's birth. The capacity for receiving

ideas is, no doubt, born with the child, and in different children has different degrees of quickness and strength, according to their different bodily organization, tho' subject to the control of external circumstances. Two children of similar capacities may be placed in very different circumstances, and two of different capacities in similar circumstances, which will have a material effect on their talents and temper, tho' not easily perceived by superficial thinkers. By the combined influence of these two causes the minds of men are formed, and it is for want of taking them both into consideration that so many obstinate errors continue to exist on the subject of education.

The framers and followers of systems are seldom wholly in the right. Helvetius maintained, that the improvement of the mind was independent of the body, and rested solely on the power of external circumstances; others, both before and after him, have asserted the contrary, and both are probably in the wrong, for the truth, as in most cases, lies between the two extremes. Bodily organization must have a considerable effect, both on the temper and talents, yet not so great as to be incapable of being modified, and in some degree counter-

acted, by education. The defenders of materialism cannot surely deny, that the temperament of the body has great influence on the mind; for if there be no such thing as spirit, independent of matter, then that matter, more finely organized, which composes the sentient faculty, and is called mind, must depend greatly on the organization of the body. We see it in horses, and in many other animals, and why should it not be the same in men, who, tho' they differ from them in the nature of their faculties, resemble them as to the method by which these faculties are formed. It may therefore be safely affirmed, that the mental faculties are liable to the control of external circumstances, tho' circumstances cannot always overcome the effects of the bodily organization. Some are by nature and constitution dull, obstinate, and unfeeling; while others are lively, ardent, and gentle. The sensitive faculties are formed by nature, in the formation of the body, but chance or instruction directs their particular destination. Whoever commences and continues the great work of education, with a due regard to these different operations, will be more likely to succeed in his attempts, than he who leans entirely, either to the one or the other.

It is of consequence that we provide, in the first instance, for the health of our children by the sound constitution of our own bodies, for their temper is oftener affected by illness than we are apt to believe. If a young child cries much, it must be ill, or in want of something, for it is not capable of being effected by any ideas but those of bodily pain or pleasure. A child newly born should be washed in tepid water, which may be gradually cooled till it is six months old, and for the first two months at least I recommend that it should sleep with a grown person, for it is well known that children of all other creatures have the least power of generating heat from their own bodies. It is very often a very dangerous experiment to attempt to make young children hardy; all constitutions will not bear it, and no rules positively general can be given either for forming the bodies or the minds of children. Temperance, exercise, and flannel, are the best preservatives of health at all ages, and in childhood particularly. The frequency of consumptions in this country, is attributed principally to the want of warm clothing, and the sudden changes from hot to cold, to which, from our climate, we are so much exposed. Tho' I recommend warmth,

I by no means wish children to be kept much in the house; when they are well defended, they may brave all weathers; even the youngest should be out once a day, and the elder ones should never come near a fire, tho' one in the room may be permitted.—Cleanliness is the next thing essentially conducive to the health of children; they ought to be washed twice a day at least, but they should not remain too long exposed to the cold. The dress of young children was formerly attended with much pain and trouble, and ultimately, from its tightness and improper pressure, occasioned many diseases; it is now more loose and wholesome, but perhaps yet encumbered with too much variety, so that putting it off and on are painful operations. I certainly do not wish to make every thing easy to children, because they must encounter many difficulties in the world, and the earlier they are accustomed to bear them, it will be better for themselves; yet it is both foolish and wicked to give them needless vexation and trouble.

Tho' I have no wish to interfere with the province of nurses, yet as these people are in general obstinate and ignorant, and seldom take the trouble to think, but act entirely from custom, it is requisite that those who do

think, and are anxious for the health of their children, should shew them, both by reason and experience, wherein they are mistaken. They more generally err, from feeding children too much, than too little, and as to their dress, they had rather make them cry for hours, than put one pin less in their clothes than they have been used to; some of them are for ever plying the poor infants with medicine, and others, when they do not sleep, have been known to give them gin and other strong liquors. This may answer their immediate purpose, but what is the consequence? the children either die in convulsions, or live miserable, rickety, and unhealthy; they are pined in their growth, and are for ever troubled with weak stomachs, and pains in their limbs and bowels. The best nurses require therefore to be overlooked by the watchful eye of a parent.

The food of children seems to be so obviously pointed out by nature, that it is wonderful how it could ever be mistaken; the breast of the mother, or the healthiest nurse that can be got, is so obviously adapted to the tender stomachs of infants, that nothing can be substituted equally nutritious and wholesome. Tho' much has been written on the duty and necessity of mothers nursing their own

children, yet I will readily allow that it is not practicable in all cases, because much more is required to make a good nurse than many people imagine. An even temper, regular diet, moderate spirits, gentle exercise, and a sufficiency of support for the infant, are all requisite for the undertaking, and are seldom found together; but the excuses of vanity are not to be listened to for a moment. Did we live in a state of nature, or did we approach nearer to that state, every mother might be qualified to be the nurse of her own child; the obstructions to that duty are amongst the evils attending the present state of things. Those men who adopt a certain set of rules, which they apply to all cases, right or wrong, are in danger of doing more harm than good. Theoretically speaking, it is desirable that every mother should nurse her own child, but this cannot always be accomplished with safety, and I have no doubt that many a child's life has been lost by this rigid adherence to system. To distinguish one case from another is a proof of superior judgment; to apply the same rule to all is either weakness or obstinacy in the extreme. After they begin to get teeth, nature seems to require a

stronger diet, and a little meat, now and then is requisite; for, notwithstanding all that fanciful theorists may say, the flesh of animals is formed to be the food of man, particularly in cold climates, and without it, the lower ranks of people become puny and consumptive; but with the rich it is used too frequently; to children, however, it ought to be given seldom, for to them, too poor and too gross living are equally hurtful; the one causes consumptions, the other diseases of the blood. A child that is fed on soups and sauces, will soon shew it in boils and blotches. A quantity of sweet things is equally pernicious, for, tho' sugar is wholesome when taken moderately, yet, when used to excess, it creates bile and indigestion. Pastry is another thing equally injurious to tender stomachs, like those of infants, for the digestion of many persons has been ruined when young, by immoderate indulgence in such trash. The best drink for children is water, and as to eating, never let them mind what they eat, if it be but good of its kind, and wholesome, for few things are more disgusting, contemptible, and troublesome, than excessive delicacy and gross indulgence in eating. To have a good appetite, and to be indifferent about what we eat, are

strong marks of good health, and a well disciplined mind, for by a determination to do so, any man may derive as much gratification from the most simple food, as from the most costly delicacies or high seasoned dishes; and no indulgence seems more unworthy a man of sense and reflection than that of the palate. I have seen many little epicures of six or seven years old, more nice and fastidious at table than a pampered voluptuary of fifty. To eat to excess at night, is laying a load upon nature when she is least able to bear it, and preparing for a disturbed and unquiet sleep—a sleep which affords no refreshment either to the mind or body, and is the surest means of destroying health. Tea is another thing which children should never taste; its pernicious effects are now so fully proved, as to leave it no advocates but custom and prejudice; the use of this deleterious herb, is the cause of many more diseases than we apprehend, but the custom is too deeply rooted among all ranks, to be easily destroyed. It is one great bond of union among the better sort of people, who, having no rational motive for meeting together, invite each other to *drink tea*; but, tho' tea is the pretence, the object is to kill time by the help of cards and scandal; for the insipid prat-

tle of a tea party can only be enlivened by tossing about pieces of painted paper, and retailing the ill-natured anecdotes which the morning's employment has collected or invented. To deprive the ladies of this comfort would be cruel in the extreme; yet, if they could bring themselves to substitute any thing more innocent in its place, and call it tea, the purposes of a party would be equally answered, and the nerves of the delicate fair ones be effectually preserved. To the poor, (whose comforts are few and hardly earned) tea is a constant solace; when drank hot, it refreshes after labor, tho' it weakens in the end; and if labor and frequent exposure to the air did not repair the ravages it occasions, the consequences would be more dreadful. It is, however, a wretched substitute for solid food, for it is agreed that it contains no nourishment whatever, and were it not for the mixture of cream and sugar, would be ten times more ruinous to the health. These, and many such things as these, seem so obvious, as hardly to require notice, did we not see them daily overlooked, for men seldom use their judgment when their pleasure is concerned, or choose to think those things hurtful which they find pleasant; yet as nature has set before us things wholesome and destructive,

if we do not use either our own wisdom, or the experience of others, in choosing the one and avoiding the other, we must suffer for our thoughtless temerity.

Children should be early accustomed to use their limbs, after they have acquired a proper degree of strength, for by want of use the limbs become stiff, and the children unhealthy, for want of exercise. At six months old, if not earlier, a healthy child should begin to use its feet, and, after that, it should be left to itself, as much as is consistent with safety; if it falls, let it get up again with the least help possible, and in a little time it will get up alone; if it cries, which it will often do, without being much hurt, never mind that, but try to amuse it, and the crying will soon be over; never pity it, for then it will cry the longer.

Tho' the children of the poor have little attendance, they are in general, more healthy and active than those of their richer superiors, and the reason of this is, that they begin earlier to exert their own strength, After a child is able to walk, let all its playthings be such as promote exercise, and are above its powers; time and use will make them easy, for if they have only such things as they can manage with ease, they neither acquire strength nor

dexterity; when these get wrong, or out of order, or seemingly out of their reach, let them try to put them right again, for, by this means they will acquire patience, quickness, and perseverance. These things seem trifling, but they are not trifling in their effects, for it is by a continued series of impressions, and by the repetition of similar impressions, that the minds of children are formed; they bring no ideas with them into the world, and therefore much depends on what they are taught. Without this is acknowledged and understood, there can be no such thing as education; our infants may, like savages, be the mere creatures of imitation, and go right or wrong as chance directs, but without early and constant attention to the impressions they receive, they never can arrive at that degree of excellence of which their nature is capable. Tho' the general temperament of children is derived from their bodily constitution, and is, therefore, called natural; yet their particular dispositions and propensities, arise from the impressions they receive in their earliest youth.

While I am desirous to control the early propensities of children, it is by no means my wish to do it with harshness or severity; but the ear-

lier they are controlled, the less pain they will feel from it, and for this purpose some degree of firmness is requisite. The advocates for nature, as they call themselves, are in the end much more cruel than those who follow the contrary system, for a child who has been left to himself for the first eight years of his life, will have formed ideas and inclinations so different from what he must meet with in the world, that he will ever be subject to pain and disappointment; it is, therefore, the utmost kindness, to teach him to bear contradiction, opposition, and restraint. It must not, however, be supposed that I mean to impress the minds of children with prejudices, to make them the mere creatures of art and authority, to teach them to repeat words by rote, to restrain the innocent effusions of nature, or to learn what they cannot understand, for nothing can be more dangerous or disgusting; all I mean is, to implant in them early what they can never otherwise acquire, without infinite pains and difficulty; for this purpose it is requisite to accustom them to such impressions as may form them to prudence, moderation, and self-command; may teach them to regulate their evil desires, and to be firm and steady in resisting temptations.—The

good effect of watching the early impressions of children, is not merely felt in those ideas which are the immediate result of such impressions, but in the correspondent ideas which naturally accompany them, and give the turn to their notions and propensities. Were it certain that nature had as much to do with the formation of the mind and temper as some people imagine, it would be ridiculous to wish or attempt to control her; but since it cannot be doubted that men are almost wholly the creatures of circumstances and instruction, it is greatly culpable to leave that to chance which may be acquired by vigilance, tho' not without some degree of difficulty. The two great springs of action are the appetites and the passions, which it is the business of reason to regulate and control, we cannot therefore too early teach our children to set bounds to their desires, and learn to bear disappointment. The artificial wants of life are so numerous, that we hardly have any idea how few and simple are the things requisite for health and comfort.

Education generally begins at the wrong end, that is, we often teach children to read and write, and do other things by rote, before we teach them to think. I am convinced from experience, that in order to form the

minds of children, we should reason with them, and talk to them of things above their age, and if they are endowed by nature with even a tolerable common capacity, their reasoning powers will be much more benefited by this sort of instruction, than if deferred till a later period; they may then be taught to read, write, and count, which they will learn much quicker and easier after their faculties have acquired some strength, than in their early infancy.

A parent who acts upon fixed and regular principles, even should some of those principles be erroneous, is less likely to do harm to his children, than he who corrects or indulges them from mere caprice and passion. The former will only be rigid in things of consequence; in trifles, and things unimportant, he will make allowance for infantine simplicity, and rather give them now and then what is not quite right, than sour their tempers by frequent denial, or compel them to have recourse to stratagem and fraud; he will proportion his correction to the age and reason of his child, and never expect of it that which it cannot perform. Children in full health and spirits are naturally eager and impatient, and if their desires are constantly complied with, they will, in time, never bear to be

refused; it is requisite, therefore, to be steady in denying them whatever is improper for them to have, but to indulge them in all things that are innocent, and in time they will learn to distinguish. This method, when begun early, will prevent the necessity of beating, which, if it is possible to avoid, should never be resorted to; but it requires great judgment to know when to refuse and when to comply. Tho' I by no means deny that whipping may now and then be of use, before a child can be talked to, yet parents ought to be very sparing of such correction, and never to use any other mode of beating. Some people indulge themselves in a cruel and dangerous custom of giving blows over different parts of the body; and a very common mode of correction is, boxing the ears, which is, of all others, the most unjustifiable.—Children corrected with cruelty often become cruel themselves, and nothing can shew so little command of temper, or so much low breeding, as to strike a child hastily and severely.

There are some people whose whole system of education consists in whipping, it is the common corrective for all faults, and for all offences. The best substitute for this severe discipline, is a constant firmness in denying

what is improper, and this will accustom children early, to set bounds to their desires, and submit themselves to the necessity of things; for the longer they live in the world, the more they will meet with disappointment.

To be severe with children for trifles, and constantly finding fault, is a sure method to spoil their tempers, and make them dislike their parents; to those under two years of age, it is impossible to talk to any purpose, and therefore we have little power over the impressions they receive; but, after that period, most children begin to compound, compare, and connect their ideas. Hastiness and impatience of temper may be corrected, by refusing to give them what they ask for, or shew signs of wanting, if it is improper; by turning their attention to something else, they soon forget the pain of being refused, and cease crying. Few children grow up to be passionate and impetuous, if they are not constantly indulged; on the other hand, obstinacy often is occasioned by needless severity. Temperament is the foundation of temper, but it may be controlled and regulated.

Children are naturally dirty, (and if they are healthy, they cannot always be kept clean) yet they may be taught to to be both clean-

ly and orderly; for tho' it is the fashion at present to make as much dirt and waste at table as possible, it cannot long be so if there is any sense left of decorum and œconomy. At their meals, (and when turned four years old at farthest they should be introduced to the table of their parents) let them be accustomed to neatness and method. The manner in which children conduct themselves at meals, shews the education of their parents; and as they should never be allowed to leave any thing upon their plates, as a means of teaching them to avoid waste, they should never be helped too largely at first.

Children are generally shy and timid, and attached to those they are most accustomed to, yet this sort of bashfulness, tho' amiable, is unpleasant both to their parents, and to others, and, if it grows up with them, injurious to themselves; it ought, therefore, to be removed at an early period, without destroying any of those amiable affections with which it is most commonly accompanied. The greatest care, however, should be taken to prevent their falling into the opposite extreme, for nothing can be more disgusting than bold, pert, impudent children; they often become weak and ignorant men, and

disappoint the hopes of their mistaken, and foolish parents, who consider impudence as a mark of genius and talents.

The sports and amusements of children should be active and invigorating, without being dangerous, and in these we should leave them much to themselves, for here reason will begin to unfold itself, and children to feel their own strength.

The playthings of children should be few, and not frequently changed; for no money is worse spent, than that which is laid out in expensive toys; they render children fickle, inconstant, and difficult to be pleased, always longing for something new, and fond of finery, show, and expence. I never see a toy-shop without thinking how much time and money are spent to make children good for nothing. Every thing which makes them seem bigger than they are, is pleasing to children. Imitation, and the love of feeling their strength, are among their first propensities, it is upon these that we are to fix their future education, and they are strong enough to be applied to any purpose. The future employments of children may be pictured in their playthings. A boy should have a wheel-barrow, a spade, a horse, a rake, a shovel, a waggon, a boat, or a

pen. The playthings of a girl are few and simple, and generally such as lead to her future occupations; a doll or a baby-house are both harmless and useful, because they accustom her to what she is afterwards to be taught--the management of a family. No good reason can be given why she should be restrained to amusements within doors; her health requires that she should frequently enjoy the air, and I see no cause why she should not be amused for a few years, at least, with a wheel-barrow and a spade, as well as a boy. The union of the feminine character with health and strength of constitution is by no means impossible; for what are generally called female accomplishments, are but specious modes of killing time, and sure methods of ruining health. All useless, or, as they are called, ornamental employments of the needle, should be forbidden, when they encroach on the time required for exercise.

Children should be compelled to part with their play-things readily to one another; it teaches them to be liberal and generous, but at the same time they should be accustomed to be content with those they have, and not to covet those of others; at least to return them readily when lent, and to know what is their

own, and what belongs to another. Who that has studied the first feelings and desires of a child, can doubt that men are originally selfish, and that it is only by instruction, and commerce with the world, that the mind ever acquires ideas of benevolence, or attention to the good of others? yet, even benevolence is only a modification of selfishness, created by the relations of society. To procure pleasure and avoid pain being the object of every human being, it happens that the pleasures of some men are connected with those of their fellow-creatures, while those of others centre solely in themselves; this is all the difference between selfishness and benevolence, about which there has been so much controversy. In children, to whom self is every thing, and who have not yet learnt their connection with the rest of society, gross selfishness generally prevails over every other consideration, and will continue to do so, if they are not instructed, either by precept or example, to be pleased by giving pleasure to others, and can any man be amiable who pays no regard to the feelings and comforts of others? Can any man be amiable who is proud, greedy, and selfish—who never considers how any thing he is about to do will affect others, but merely how it

affects himself?—such a man, if he has great talents, may be great, but he can never be amiable.—Even after all that can be taught, every man is to himself a circle, whose *radii* all tend to the same centre, tho' its circumference touches others in many points. No man is an insulated being, and custom has in some, rendered acts of benevolence almost involuntary; they are not, however, independent of the principle of self-love, tho' the pleasure we derive from them is a sufficient compensation for any sacrifice.

To fatigue the minds of children at an early age, is both cruel and dangerous; it gives them a dislike to every thing they ought to admire, and ends in making them dull and stupid; I should therefore by no means advise that a child be taught the alphabet as a task, but as an amusement, and laid aside whenever he is tired. The old method of printed letters is much to be preferred to the loose ones of ivory; they are easily lost, and difficult to be understood, when not properly placed, and, on the whole, neither cheap nor convenient. A child ought never be forced to spell words to which it can affix no meaning; it is on this account that I should wish to banish from all spelling books, single, unconnected words;

let them at first be as simple as possible, and lengthen progressively as the child's understanding advances, but let them always have some connected meaning, and never let him be forced to spell a word to which he is not already accustomed in conversation, or of which the meaning cannot easily be explained. The custom of making children repeat by heart, long pieces of poetry or prose, which they cannot possibly understand, has a most dangerous tendency; for by that means they acquire words without ideas, and learn to talk before they learn to think. Teaching them languages before they are of an age to comprehend them, has the same unhappy effect, it pleases the vanity of their parents, which is often the only thing considered; yet these little early wonders seldom become useful men or women; they acquire a fluency of words, a ready habit of prating, but generally skim the surface of things, and never examine any thing to the bottom; they may be very pleasant, occasional companions, but are seldom useful members of society. When able to put words together, there are so many amusing and instructive books for their use, which have been published within the last fifteen years, that there is no occasion to give them such trash

as Mother Goose's Tales, or the History of Jack the Giant-killer; they lead to no useful purpose, and ought therefore to be for ever banished the nursery, where amusement and instruction should always be united. With children arrived at the age of five years, some regularity and method should be adopted as to the hours of instruction and play; every inducement should be held out, to make them come to their book, not as a painful drudgery, but as a pleasing employment, as the means of acquiring every thing they wish for, and to obtain that relaxation which they should be told, can never be granted till they have performed their duty. To reason with them in this manner, on the necessity of attending to their books, and to teach them that amusement is only the reward of diligence, will imprint on their tender minds, ideas of duty and regularity which can never otherwise be obtained, and will probably never be effaced. Man being composed of sensual appetites and rational faculties, he cannot always act in compliance with the latter only, he must sometimes be induced to exert them for the sake of indulging the former. The love of praise, and the desire of doing good, are certainly the purest motives of action, but they are too much

so for children; the sensual desires must be called in to the aid of virtue, and the love of play must be rendered subservient to instruction; young people must sometimes be enticed to their duty by the promise of gross rewards, and the love of innocent amusement. Whoever thinks to conduct either men or children by reason alone, will find himself mistaken, and loose much of the good which he intended. A parent who neglects to avail himself of these means and opportunities for his infant's improvement, may wonder that the child is not all he expects of him, but if he reflects, he will easily discover who is to blame.

Great pains should be taken to excite in children, as early as possible, the feelings of affection and regard for their parents and family, for tho' they may be afterwards weakened by a collision of interests, or the many bad passions which gain strength by a commerce with the world, yet it may sometimes happen, that these affections will be strong enough to resist the most violent temptations, and they will ever prove a source of satisfaction and comfort. Parents should therefore be cautious how they create jealousies or disputes among their children, by shewing

any unjust preference of one to the other. It is often remarked, that those who are ugly or deformed in their persons, are equally so in their temper, but we impute this to a wrong origin, when we lay it to the charge of nature; for it is in general to be attributed to the slights and insults they receive from those who ought to be kind and gentle to them, and pay them additional attention, on account of their infirmities. Tho' our children have all an equal claim to our affection, when they deserve it, yet it is impossible at all times, and in all things, to treat them equally alike. Nature, by sending into the world one before another, has instituted a difference, and society has sanctioned it, by preferring the eldest, not to the exclusion of the rest from our favor, or our fortune, but by a preference in some things of importance; there must be heads of families as well as of nations; the analogy of nature is confirmed by the experience of society, for where all are alike, there must be either confusion or dull uniformity. Tho' in theory it may seem plausible to make our children equal in all things, it is neither practicable, nor would it be useful. The experiment has been tried, and it is found that it lays the foundation for jealousy, envy, and discontent,

whenever the slightest deviation from the rule arises, and it is the sure way to make children miserable when they go out into the world, for there they will find things very unequally divided, and if they are not accustomed to it before hand, they will be rendered perpetually unhappy. Reason would have all things equal; nature makes many things unequal, and nature can never be wholly overcome by art, but will maintain the great principle of inequality.

Children should be early taught to be mild and attentive to their inferiors, for the casual difference of birth is no ground for tyranny on the one hand, nor of servile submisson on the other; and parents cannot more effectually corrupt the minds of their children, than by suffering them to ill-treat their inferiors; they are all fond of shewing their power, and will strike those who they think dare not strike again; but no such thing should be suffered, for if those of unequal condition are brought together, all inequality should be dismissed, and the son of the gentleman should learn to bear a blow from the son of a peasant, or he will soon become haughty, tyrannical, and cruel, and suited to no society but that of his inferiors. I am convinced that there are few

children who are not capable of being thought every thing that is good, but then it must be not merely by words, but by actions, by forming them early to habits of benevolence, liberality, and politeness.

One great purpose of education being the control of the passions, we should be watchful to check the evil propensities of our children before they become too strong, for a few years, at a particular time of life, are of infinite importance. If young people are not properly instructed before the age of fifteen, little can be done afterwards to any good purpose. At a very early period they begin to make distinctions in things and persons, and from that time we ought to watch the direction and impulse of their minds. If a child of a year old has every thing given it which it wants, if it is constantly indulged, it will become hasty, impatient, and irascible; to counteract that propensity is all that can be expected at so early an age, but as their ideas expand, we must take every pains to watch over their natural dispositions, for tho' these cannot, in all instances, be controlled, they may be regulated by constant attention. The capacities and tempers of children tho' originally derived from nature are almost all capable of improvement

by art and instruction. Let every attention, therefore, be given in the earlier years of children, when their own reason is weak, to guide and direct them by the reason of others, and to lay the ground-work of happiness for their future lives. It is not unusual to see children very clever at four or five years old, who are good for nothing after; the fact is, their parents were able to make them wonderful infants, but for any thing further, they had neither knowledge nor talents. All parents are not equal to the task of educating their children, for it requires an even temper, constant attention, great perspicacity, extensive knowledge, much leisure, and strong health.

The earliest propensities of mankind are self-preservation and the love of power; the first of these is shewn by the immediate impulse of a child to the breast of its mother, and the second by the propensity which all children have to take from each other; this natural love of power is variously modified in life, but still remains the same at the root; to moderate and restrain these propensities, is all that can be done by any system of education; for they neither can, nor ought to be wholly destroyed. There are two great and fatal mistakes in education, the one consists in sup-

posing that every thing depends on nature, and the other that every thing depends on art, and these mistakes originate in want of observation, and a love of system.

Few parents begin to educate their children till they are four or five years old, when their tempers are completely formed, and they then mistake for nature the effects of custom and early impressions, and endeavour to counteract them by improper means, instead of attempting to erase them by contrary impressions. Children, when left to themselves, generally do wrong, because their first notions tend to excess if they are not controlled, and consequently become hurtful to themselves and others; for this purpose, they require in their younger years, long and constant attention, and with this it is almost impossible that they should wholly disappoint our expectations. If a child is eager and impatient for every thing he sees, and it is constantly given to him, you must expect that he will never bear to be denied; if you suffer him to refuse every thing he is asked for, and to have every thing he wants, you must expect him to be selfish and illiberal; if you suffer him to strike or illtreat those beneath him with impunity, you must not wonder if he becomes proud,

haughty, and impatient of control; if you never teach him to be gentle and affectionate, you must expect him to be coarse and cruel. Our involuntary impressions being much more lasting than those we receive by the exertion of the will, example is generally found to be stronger than precept; it is of infinite importance, therefore, that we never expect from our children that which we do not do ourselves, and that all things of importance which we enjoin, or forbid should be strengthened by the powerful authority of our own example.

The evil propensities of human beings have been variously accounted for; the divine ascribes them, with pious faith, to original sin, derived from the transgression of our first progenitors; this is an easy solution of the difficulty, because nothing is required but to believe, yet to those who are accustomed to reflect more deeply, it appears neither rational nor convincing. The religious moralist, who differs little from the divine, attributes them to innate ideas, which reason is unable to counteract. These notions are the remains of that ridiculous philosophy which attempts to account for present appearances, by theoretical systems, rather than by practical experience. The doctrine of innate propensities to either good or evil, is even

more ridiculous than that of original sin, for ideas being formed only from sensible objects, can have no existence in a being who possesses not the means by which they are produced. The first ideas of an infant, are those of sensation; those of reflection succeed, and form what is called the mind of man. The tendency to excess, or love of power, is the first cause of all the evil which children either do or imagine of themselves, and where this is not restrained by their own reason, or the authority of others, it grows into custom, and remains with them to the end of their existence.

The great question of public or private education has been so often agitated, that little more can be added on either side, and all that can be said on the whole is, that in some cases the one is to be preferred, and in some the other. In general it may be affirmed that private education seems best in theory, and public has been proved to be the best in practice, and most conformable to the actual state of the world; and, after all, much depends on the mode in which children are treated by their parents at home, and on their own natural dispositions. The evils inevitably attendant on public education are considerably increased by the negligence of parents in their choice of

masters, and the improper method of teaching adopted in most public schools. It is surprizing with how little consideration many parents trust their children to be educated by the most illiterate pretenders. A needy parson, or a ruined gamester, have nothing to do to make a fortune, but to set up a school or an academy, to ask an immoderate price for their instruction, and the public papers, or public fame, will bear constant testimony to their success; and as this with most people is the only test of merit, the school increases and our youth are ruined. Whence does this arise but from the ignorance and indolence of parents in every thing relating to the instruction of youth? Ignorant parents send their children to ignorant teachers, and thus ignorance is propagated and preserved, and a foundation laid for vice, bigotry, and fanaticism.

The age at which children are sent to school, whose parents are either too indolent, too ignorant, or too much employed to undertake the task themselves, is from three to five, and there with much pain and difficulty, under some ignorant, impatient, unfortunate old being, whose necessities have reduced her to undertake the drudgery, they are taught to say their letters, not by the gentle, rational

method which nature dictates, but by force and severity, and if they do not become either stupid or obstinate, the parents are more indebted to chance than to themselves. After this is over, and in the course of two or three years hard service, they are taught to read their own language, they are sent to a grammar school, where they are compelled to repeat by rote a parcel of nonsensical verses they can never comprehend, and thus driven through all the perplexities of construing, and parsing, without having a single idea of what they are about. Can this be of any service to a boy, or is it not time mispent? But this is not enough; after all this jargon has been pretty well flogged into him, (for which it is impossible for him to see any reason but the arbritrary will of his master) he is compelled to read an author whom he cannot comprehend, and, therefore, most likely hates the sight of, for ever after, and never again returns to; at the end of all this drudgery, one boy in ten becomes what is called a good scholar, that is, he can construe Latin and Greek, and the rest are turned out incorrigibly stupid. All this may seem very proper to some people, because it has been the mode of instruction for three hundred years, but without they can give a

better reason for it, I should advise them to consider whether it is not adviseable to find out a simpler method of teaching boys the learned languages, and one more adapted to their infant ideas. For this purpose, the period of such instruction should be deferred till they are at least ten years old, and their time employed in learning things which are visible to their senses, instead of words which convey only refined ideas; and when they do begin to learn grammar, it should be plain, simple, and unencumbered with technical phrases and unintelligible jargon. Its rules should be simplified, and its examples adapted to the capacities of children. Let them be taught simply the three great divisions of time, or the tenses, past, present, and to come, and then with a dictionary, set to read some plain, intelligible author, adapted to their uninformed minds, but never let them be pushed forward quicker than they can comprehend. After this, their progress in the different branches of learning and knowledge must be left to the judgment of their instructors; my advice is only intended to teach how they are to be formed to virtue and morality.

The first thing to be impressed on the minds of children, after the dawn of their reason, is a strict attention to truth, and for this purpose

you should always tell the truth to them.—Whatever you wish them to do or to avoid, you ought to give the true reason for it, which in time, they will understand; whereas a great many parents have a very improper custom of tempting a child to do or take a thing, by threatening them with giving it to another. This inducement has a strong tendency to make them selfish and ill-tempered, by teaching them to act from the mere desire of depriving another of what they do not care about themselves, which is a very contemptible motive. Children should be told at once, that they must do a thing, and necessity will soon teach them to submit to what they cannot resist. The custom of deceiving naturally produces deceit, for the faculties of most infants are very quick, and they more readily imitate what they see, than believe what they are told; for the one they have proof positive, for the other they have only a bare affirmation. To shew them the true nature of things is of infinite service to them in other respects, as it saves them much trouble in their future lives.

Truth is, or ought to be, the great end of all our researches, the constant guide of our conduct, and there are three kinds of truth, na-

tural, metaphysical, and moral. The first relates to the properties or qualities of bodies, the second, to the nature of our intellectual faculties, and the third regards our conduct towards each other. With the last only we are concerned at present, and even of this it is but a very small portion that we have it in our power to discover; for such is the limited nature of our faculties, and such our disposition to deceive each other, when we conceive it to suit our purpose, that we neither can know all things that have happened, nor even how they happened. There are some sort of lies which all men agree to reprobate, and it is these against which children are generally warned; yet, to advance the cause of truth, and to banish deceit and fraud, we must do much more than merely teach them never to tell a lie; we must teach them neither wilfully to misrepresent, nor hastily to give credit to every thing they hear and read. To teach them to examine, is better than teaching them to believe, for both in the natural and moral world, facts are mistated, as well as the consequences to be drawn from them; so that a prudent caution in matters of belief is the best preservative against error and mistake. History is not always a faithful record of past

transactions, and in the concerns of private life, we are for ever liable to be imposed on. Some men designedly, and others hastily, report things differently from what they really happened, so that it is requisite at all times to be upon our guard against mistake and fraud; yet this custom of doubting, when applied in private companies to small and trivial events, should always be avoided as rude and unmannerly. To hear and to believe are very different things; good manners may require the one, but truth and justice frequently forbid the other, and what we are not sure of we ought never to repeat; for nothing tends so much to the disturbance of private society, and the injury of individuals, as an over-anxiousness to believe and report what we have never examined.

Young people should be early accustomed to regularity and industry, for nothing contributes so much to the comfort of life, as to be always employed, and to manage all our concerns with method and arrangement. Idleness is the destruction of happiness and virtue, and that perpetual necessity for exertion, which our faculties require, for want of proper employment, finds its last resource in gaming and debauchery. Constant exercise, either of body

or mind, is requisite to preserve them from dissipation and vice, for the neglect of a proper application of their faculties, by forming in our early years industrious and active dispositions, leads ultimately to that excess of profligacy which young men of rank and fortune notoriously excel in. Young persons of both sexes cannot be too early taught to feel and understand that industry is its own reward, and idleness its own punishment, that œconomy is the true source of liberality, and that no man who does not regulate both his time and his money with strict order, can be either truly just or generous, and that the essence of œconomy is to attend to little things, without be being parsimonious. The more numerous the sources of employment and relaxation we provide for young people, the greater their chance of happiness. Agriculture affords a never-failing supply of pleasure and engagement. A taste for the liberal arts is a constant fund of recreation and delight, and even the mechanical arts are not beneath the occupation of a gentleman, at the same time that they procure both health and employment. Nothing which is not positively vicious can be disgraceful, for a man of liberal education and polished manners will give a degree of respectability to what-

ever he undertakes, and may remove the prejudices which are attached to things not essentially, nor positively dishonorable.

Whoever wishes his children to be well educated, should leave them as little as possible to servants; were they even qualified for the task, he cannot expect from them that constant fidelity and attention which children require, for without intending any insult to the lower ranks of the people, I will maintain that they are not so well instructed as the slaves of the Greeks and Romans. They are, therefore, little suited to be the constant companions of children; they either treat them with foolish indulgence or barbarous severity, when young, which equally ruin their tempers, and when older, they spoil them by flattery and servility; but at any time they can teach them nothing suited to form their minds and hearts. The generality of parents either neglect their children entirely, and leave them to the care of hirelings, or treat them in every respect improperly, and then lay the blame on their natural dispositions. One of the many bad things which are learnt from servants is that of making idle excuses for improper things; children should never be suffered to say, "I *only* did so and so," for if strong applied,

only is a dangerous word, and will serve to excuse any thing; it has brought many a man to the gallows and the hulks.

If children are taught to use their reason early, and instructed by consequences and examples, they will soon perceive their own faults, and correct them even without advice; and nothing can be so delightful to a parent, as to see the effect of his instructions thus incontestibly proved. Children cannot be too soon treated with confidence and liberality; they should be frequently employed on little commissions, and always rewarded when they perform them punctually, and the sooner these rewards are applied to the mind, the better; for they inspire a degree of manliness and dignity which it is very possible to unite with the utmost degree of simplicity; to be a man in great things, and a child in little ones, is a considerable point gained. I have seen many boys of ten years old, who were neither to be tempted nor rewarded by toys and sweetmeats.

It is easy to give children a taste for dress by telling them how well they look when they get a new coat or a hat; but by taking no notice of these things, or considering them as trifles, children will do so to; thus they may be pre-

served from that most contemptible of all passions—vanity. Vain parents make vain children, and the measure of the father's mind will always be that of the son's, if they have been much together. Vanity in trifles is contemptible, in great things it is pitiable, for it lessens the value even of the highest characters; yet vanity is to a certain degree in every man's heart, tho' some men conceal it better than others, and it is only in excess that it becomes offensive.

Nothing is more disagreeable in children than affectation and conceit; yet there are some parents not displeased to see their children put on little airs and follies, which they think make them agreeable; such children may please those who prefer plenty of noise and shew, to sterling worth, but good judges of life, like good judges of painting, will prefer chastity and simplicity of coloring to the glare of false ornament. Affectation in a man is contemptible, in a woman it is pitiable, for it generally fails to obtain its purpose. Addison justly remarks, that it is a greater enemy to a fine face than the small-pox, and tho' its object is admiration, it is more generally laughed at than admired.

Let it not, however, be forgotten, that while

young men are to be formed to all the tender and amiable virtues, they ought not to be destitute of that strength and presence of mind which is requisite in some degree for the common occasions of life, but without which it is impossible to conquer great and uncommon difficulties. Those who are nursed in indolence and pleasure, are little qualified for arduous undertakings, and no man ever became great, who was not early inured to hardships and dangers.

'Severity with children leads to concealment, dissimulation, and lying; we too often forget their age, and suppose them to know many things of which they are ignorant; it is not to be supposed that a child should always do right, after being once told that a thing is wrong; impressions can only be durable by repetition, and they who expect children to be, all at once, what they should be, expect an impossibility. After the first admonition, if a child offends again, most parents lose their patience, and correct severely; this naturally leads the infant to be more cunning, that it may prevent discovery in future. Instead of this, a parent should say, "Confess your fault, tell me that you have done so and so, and I will forgive you, but never tell a lie."

This kind of generosity naturally induces the child to reason on the nature of the offence he has committed, while the other method only leads him to think how he may best prevent detection; for the strongest propensity in the human mind is resistance to oppression, either by force or fraud; we compel children to do wrong, and then blame them for the consequence of our own conduct. The natural result of reason is reason; but the result of force is obstinacy or villainy.—The answer to all this from many parents, is, "Oh, such a child will not do without severity;" when the fact is, that, having begun with severity, the child is then spoilt, and requires to be coarsely treated, because he has been used to act solely from the fear of punishment.

It is of infinite importance in the education of young persons of either sex, to teach them to despise every thing mean and ungenerous; for there is nothing in human shape more odious and contemptible, than those smooth, fulsome, and insinuating people, who say one thing to your face, and another behind your back, just as it suits their paltry interest. Such people have generally a great degree of pitiful, low curiosity; they are anxious to pry into other people's concerns, and secret about their

own; they give an ill-natured interpretation to every little failing, however pardonable, but smooth it over with some soft speech, which only makes their design more obvious; they sicken at the prosperity of others, while they pretend to rejoice; they insinuate, where they dare not accuse; they hesitate to express their dislike, and pretend to pity where they mean to blame; their praise is more blighting than the mildews of a frost, for when they wish completely to destroy a character, they preface their attack with terms of general approbation and regard; they are subtle, artful, and designing, the least thing they say or do, has a remote tendency to their own advantage. Men and women (for they are mostly to be found among the weaker sex,) of this sort should be held up and exposed to the abhorrence and contempt of young persons, as soon as they are capable of making distinctions in human characters; for this strongest of all reasons, that such people generally make their children like themselves, and the evil is extended from generation to generation to the remotest branches of a family.

Yet, after all that education can do in forming the mind, such is the frailty and fallibility of our nature, that no man can be all that he

ought to be, nor is he secure at any period of his life against the effect of circumstances, which may produce a change in his disposition or sentiments. Even principles which seemed to be proof against the force of every temptation, have been known to yield to the seductions of flattery or interest; but this is no argument against the necessity of fortifying the mind by education, to resist the most powerful attacks, and to prepare it to act rationally and honestly; for tho' the world is full of meanness, selfishness, fraud, deceit, and treachery, and tho' a man who has lived any time in it, must know that there is hardly any such thing as consistent integrity, yet he will not, on that account, give it up in despair, nor exclaim that it cannot be improved. He will use, to the utmost of his power, the means of which he is possessed, to implant more liberal principles in the rising generation, and endeavour to revive in the breasts of his posterity, those free and independent sentiments which were once the distinction of Britons; he will endeavor to counteract, by every means in his power, the blighting influence of luxury and commerce, which sets every thing to sale, and makes a market even of honesty and liberty; he will endeavour to animate the

hearts of future ages, with that high spirit of purity and independence, which despises the sordid pursuits of interest, and delights only in virtuous and liberal gratifications. The original purpose of instructing young men in classical literature, was to keep alive that proud spirit of liberty which formed the glory of Rome and Athens, and has communicated a portion of its vigor to modern times; that purpose seems now to be forgotten, the classics are read with calm indifference, and those who best understand them, are neglected or treated with contempt. The sciences and imitative arts, which contain nothing either favorable or adverse to liberty, are supported and patronized, tho' by no means animated with their spirit nor if they were could it gain them either patronage nor promotion. For this partiality, it is not difficult to account, yet I heartily wish to see the ground of complaint removed, and our modern youth study classical literature, not as a mechanical drudgery, but for its high and dignified utility. Liberty and the arts may exist without each other, but liberty and literature must fall or flourish together.

The religious principles of young people are next to be considered, and it is my opinion, that, in a matter of so much uncertainty as re-

ligion, about which the best and the greatest men have differed, and do differ, it is unfair to give any system of belief so great an advantage over others, as that which is derived from early impressions. At first, therefore, let them be taught nothing but the plain principles of reason and justice, for these are common to all men, and at all times and places equally true and intelligible. If young men, after they are arrived at an age to judge for themselves, give a preference to any particular religion, let them embrace it and act upon it; if not, provided they are just, generous, and humane, it is of little consequence what they believe or disbelieve.

The studies of some men occupy much of their time, and more perhaps than is either useful or healthy. I am by no means anxious, therefore, that young people should spend too much time over their books, for the great art of reading is to select, and the great use of reading is to make men better and happier; for this purpose, it is not requisite to turn over many volumes, but to acquire a thorough knowledge of principles. To be well-grounded in any branch of science is of more consequence, than to read many books without method or arrangement. To simplify know-

ledge is doing a greater service to mankind than to conquer kingdoms, and to make an abridgement with discretion, is as useful as to clear a country; for every branch of science is over-run with books, and he that writes one to supersede many, does more good than he that writes a hundred. I have no wish to detract from the merits of those who have detailed either facts or opinions on any interesting subject, I only speak of the services of those who have collected the substance of other men's researches, and formed them into a compact and intelligible analysis. Life is too short, and books are too numerous, for any man to read the third part of all that has been written on any given subject; wherever, therefore, young men have it in their power, it is my earnest advice to them, to take advantage of the shortest road to knowledge, and be more anxious to gather facts than opinions. Learning, tho' a valuable acquirement, is inferior in utility to good sense; the two united form a rare composition of excellence; were I to be asked whether I would have my son a learned or a sensible man, I should be a fool if I hesitated how to answer.

"A great book is a great evil," and "Of making many books there is no end." Few

books there are that might not have been written in half their present space. Had printing been discovered before the æra of christianity, it would have made a great difference in the world, we should now have had many valuable books that are lost, and many that we now have would never have been written; the multitude of volumes which have been composed merely to settle the text of the classics, would happily have been spared; christianity itself would probably never have gained ground in the world, and reason would have prevailed over religion.

The expences of young men require to be early regulated, so as to give them ideas of moderation and œconomy. In this, as in all other things, we must begin by making strong impressions; for tho' I am far from denying that all impressions are liable to be destroyed by their contraries, yet the probability is so much in favour of those which are received in early years, that every parent is guilty of culpable neglect, who omits taking that advantage which the nature of the human mind affords him. Young people, therefore, as soon as they know the use of money, should have it given to them very sparingly, tho' not meanly, for all extremes are bad, and avarice

is worse than extravagance; but, above all, they should be compelled to account for every sixpence they lay out, tho' not harshly nor severely, for we must not expect them to be prudent all at once; it is a work of time and experience. Severity is, perhaps, a greater fault than indulgence, for it drives them to concealment and fraud, lessens that confidence which ought always to subsist between parents and children, makes them hate those whom they ought to love, and engenders sentiments of misanthropy and indifference.

Another dangerous indulgence to children is that of amusement. Nothing dissipates and enervates the mind so much, as constant relaxation; young people who are early accustomed to be frequently in company and at public diversions, seldom spend their time afterwards to any good purpose; they become utterly incapable of any serious employment, and acquire a degree of frivolity and insignificance in their whole turn of mind and behaviour, which can never afterwards be corrected; they talk more, perhaps, than others of their own age, but less to the purpose, and are remarkable throughout their lives for vanity and impertinence; yet their parents look on them as models of excellence, and

despise the modesty of genuine merit. The world, however, judges more coolly, and such young people are generally considered by those whose opinion is of most weight, as empty and troublesome coxcombs, hardly worth contempt.

The greatest confidence and freedom, consistent with respect, ought always to subsist between parents and their children, for nothing alienates affection so much as reserve, dictation, and severity; when a father expects, after a child is arrived at years of discretion, that every thing he says should be received by his son with implicit submission, he may succeed in enforcing his authority, but he loosens for ever the stronger tie of affectionate respect. Parents should reason with their children, after they have arrived at a certain age, and thus strive to open and improve their faculties; this will not weaken parental authority, when it is conducted with moderation and temper, and may be of service to both parties, nor can it tend to unsettle any important opinions, for the foundations of truth are so solid, as not to be easily shaken. All opinions which will not bear to be disputed, are of little worth, and there is no disposition of mind so desirable as that fearlessness which leads men to seek after

truth, without any regard to consequences, and that liberality which teaches them to acknowledge that they have been deceived.

The custom of bringing young persons too much into company, has been already condemned, yet it must not be inferred from thence, that it is improper for them ever to mix in society; even in their earliest years, children should be accustomed to strangers, and by this means they will avoid all pain and confusion in mixed companies. Nothing this world can afford is more desirable than good society; when children are never used to company, they become shy and reserved, and averse to mix with the world; let them then be taught to love society, yet not to avoid being alone, for tho' it is right that those who are intended to live much in the world, should mix frequently in company, yet the truest enjoyment of society is only to be found in a small and well-chosen circle of friends. The company of young men should be generally of their own rank, but rather above than beneath them; both extremes are bad, tho' the worst is that which makes them fond of low company, for the sake of taking liberties; on the other hand, to court great people, is mean and contemptible, and generally ends in vexation and disappointment.

It is of great consequence to make young people act and judge from principle, and this can only be gained by teaching them to exercise their judgment, rather than be governed by passion or opinion, or rely on the authority of others; for this purpose, a boy ought to give a reason for every thing he does, and such a one as will bear to be examined, for, after he has arrived at the age of ten or fifteen years, it is not enough for him to say of any thing material, "I do so, because I am told it is right, or because I have read it in a book;" he must know why it is right, and why it is wrong to do otherwise, or he cannot be considered a moral agent, for all moral right and wrong are founded on the relations of men to each other, as members of society; this is a reason which all men can feel and comprehend. It is of no small importance to know the true value of every object and pursuit, and not to give more for any thing than it is worth. Let young people, therefore, read Dr Franklin's story of the whistle. To teach them to reason with accuracy on the state of things around them, to form just and liberal notions of their relative situation in society, and to govern their passions with regularity, are the great objects of education; when these

are once acquired, all that is afterwards requisite is, to preserve, by reading and conversation, the same tenor of mind and sentiment; and I much question, whether after sound principles are more generally diffused among mankind, great part of our present learning will not be thrown aside, and our knowledge considerably compressed. To employ our time usefully and pleasantly is the great art of life; some men are too much devoted to their pleasures to think of their interest, and some are too intent upon their interest, to have any other pleasure. Reason prescribes an equal portion of both, and moderation in all things is the law of enjoyment. Reading, with the mere view of amusement, is not more defensible nor honorable, than horse-racing and many other sports, and if it makes no impression on the mind or heart, can lay little claim to the praise of utility. Even the higher pursuits of intellect, if they have no influence on the conduct, are no more than specious idleness; to dive into the mysteries of metaphysics and divinity, is not better than stuffing birds or preserving butterflies; nor is there any merit in being a mere Greek scholar; tho' to acquire such a knowledge of any language as may enable us to read books which contain all

the treasures of poetry, history and oratory, and thereby to strengthen and improve our minds, is an employment becoming a rational being, and tending to the best of purposes. A want of method and system in study is the greatest obstacle to improvement, young persons should, therefore, be early accustomed to a regular disposition of their time and pursuits, and not be suffered to fly from one book or one thing to another with thoughtless rapidity; they should also be taught never to read without some other end in view than mere amusement; they should ask themselves, before they begin a book, what good they are likely to acquire from it, and when they have finished, they should sum up all that they have gained.

Novels, when well written, contain much knowledge of life and manners, and tho' proscribed by some men who have neither taste nor imagination, are capable of doing much good, and of exciting both noble and refined emotions; they exercise the judgment, and interest the heart, and when they are animated pictures of real life, written for the purpose of displaying the miseries of vice, the dangers of the passions, and the luxury of feeling, they may be considered as teachers of morality, little

inferior to living instructors. I speak not of that loathsome trash which issues from the hot-bed of the circulating libraries in London, and is disseminated through those of the country, to the destruction of taste, morals, and happiness, which resembles nothing in either art or nature, which paints only the illusions of love, and gives romantic ideas of happiness. Such books have neither the merit of variety, nor originality, they are stale copies of each other, and so much alike, that he who reads one reads them all; yet they perpetually reappear under new names, to excite the cloyed appetites of love-sick virgins and romantic swains. They may be permitted to amuse the languor of old age, but they should never be suffered to spoil the unvitiated minds of youth; for they resemble those filthy compositions under the name of sweetmeats, which pall without satisfying the appetite, and render it incapable of digesting solid food. The great danger even of good novels, is that of weakening the judgment, by too great an indulgence of the imagination.

Novels are not the only species of reading which require judgment in selection, for every other branch of study is overloaded with books, and most books are overloaded with useless

ideas; when the opinions of men are firmly settled, on the distinction between useful and superfluous knowledge, many volumes which have long been held in estimation will be laid aside. Alchymy and astrology have now ceased to perplex the minds of men, and divinity, it is to be hoped, will never disturb the next generation. All books of religion, particularly books of piety and devotion, are just so much nonsense, for their object exists solely in the imagination. In the department of poetry, above every other, there is much trash, which may be usefully forgotten. The studies of young men when thus relieved of incumbrances, will henceforth be directed only to useful purposes.

To improve a young man's mind and taste, it is of great use to him to read books on education and criticism; the former teach him the utility of instruction, and make him feel desirous of improvement, and the latter, provided they are written on just principles, give him a desire to read the works that are criticised, and enable him to judge of their faults and excellencies; yet, at the same time, he should have the best models in every species of writing put into his hands, and read those only at first; when his taste is formed, he may be al-

lowed to read inferior productions. History ought to be the first and principal study of young people, but it must be rendered palatable to them by a proper selection, for the books which are generally given to them are so dry and tedious, that they more frequently disgust, than either amuse or improve. Let their first historical books be mere abridgements, such as give a faint outline of great events, and having thus placed before them a general notion of the history of different countries, let it afterwards be filled up by original accounts, written by persons who lived in the times of which they write, for such books generally excite all the interest of novels, and have the advantage of truth on their side. Many of these books will bear to be abridged, and, after that, one page of authentic history is worth all the romances of Hume, Robertson, or Gibbon; for history, in the hands of such men, becomes either a fable or a dissertation, and sometimes both; the characters are filled up by their own imaginations and predilections, and the sentiments are in general the prejudices they have acquired on particular persons or events. Such history may amuse, but it cannot improve, for it is only a partial representation of past transactions, and of such his-

tories we have many, which place the same affairs in different lights, according to the historian's prejudices; they are like pictures of events drawn from the painter's imagination, which are amusing, if well written, if not, they do more harm than good; but if they are like Rapin, Rollin, or Smollet, I should as soon think of giving a boy the statutes at large to read, for they are not more tedious and dry.

The deceitfulness of history is a just complaint with those who wish to acquire a true knowledge of past affairs; it is every where so deformed by the prejudices and partialities of historians, that it presents a labyrinth in which it is more difficult to find the truth than to discover the art of making gold, which many men think they have found out, yet can never be repaid for the search.

The great purpose of history being to instruct by examples, it is of the utmost consequence that it be written with a scrupulous attention to truth, and that it be free from the prejudices of party. Without this, it may amuse and mislead, but it can never teach the generality of the world to form a right judgment of the facts which it presents to their examination, and without men think for themselves, when they read a recital of past events,

they might as well save themselves the trouble of reading at all, and take the representation of them at once from the light in which they are placed by others. Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon, are called philosophic historians; they are philosophers, it is true, and they are men of great talents, yet they are any thing but historians; for history is a simple relation of facts, and theirs is a pompous display of rhetoric, where simplicity and veracity are alone required. Who would think of comparing them with Herodotus, Thucydides, or Xenephon? yet these were considered as the fathers of history—the models of pure writing. The motives of men in private life are at all times difficult to be discovered, they are much more so in public, yet there is not one of our philosophic historians who does know to a tittle, the spring and source of every man's actions, and according as they wish to represent him, they attribute every part of his conduct to such or such a motive; for all this, if two or three of them undertake to describe the same character, they all give him different motives, according to their own preconceived opinions. No stronger proof can be given of what I have here said, than the different characters given of Martin Luther by different historians.—

Hume represents him as a man actuated originally by no honest regard to truth, but being of an irritable and violent temper, first impelled to attack the corruptions of the church of Rome by an affront offered to the religious order he belonged to, in transferring the sale of indulgences from the Austin to the Dominican friars. His subsequent conduct he attributes to the love of fame, and the glory of dictating the religious faith and principles of thousands. There appears here nothing very amiable or honorable in his character or motives; but if we look at Robertson, we shall find him represented as a man actuated only by the disinterested love of truth, the undaunted champion of true religion, the man raised up by Providence for the light and instruction of the rest of mankind. The reason of this difference is obvious; Hume thought too meanly of human nature, and Robertson perhaps too highly, so that both were in the wrong. Cotemporary historians are not always free from the violence of party prejudice, they often represent the same facts differently; in this case, all that a writer of general history can do, is, to select those facts which are related nearly in the same manner, and endeavor to reconcile their accounts in those respects

in which they differ. He has no more to do than to compose a clear, candid, and consistent narrative, and to leave his readers to form their own judgment as to the motives of those whose conduct he relates; by this means his history will become a faithful register of past transactions, which is all that is required for instruction and amusement. To display acuteness of intellect and elegant stile, remains for historical dissertation, for that species of writing which expressly belongs to philosophers, and which is certainly of infinite utility, but it should be kept separate from history. The early part of ancient history is mere fable, mere imagination; not only the origin of particular nations, but the origin of the world, has been invented, and almost every country has its own theology, and its own cosmogony. Almost all that we read under the name of history, is little better than fable, and even that which is authentic, can represent great men but in a few points of view. A painter can give but one look of the person whom he wishes to represent, and, in many respects, an historian can do no more. Sully, we are to suppose, has given a faithful account of many parts of Henry's character, because he bears, as a writer, many marks of veracity;

but who will say that Henry is thoroughly understood? How could Tacitus be acquainted with all the facts he relates, even tho' they happened in his life time? Livy wrote chiefly from tradition, or from very uncertain memorials, and the greatest part of his history is no better than romance. Yet, tho' history is defective as a record of particulars, I do not deny that it may faithfully represent facts or characters in general; for instance, that Nero was a tyrant, or Antoninus a mild philosopher, or that such an event happened at the battle of Pharsalia; but so far does my scepticism extend, that I will trust it for little more than a general display of facts, not for a detail of minute particulars, which must ever remain in uncertainty. On the whole, history is but a dreary recital of follies and crimes, and its only use is to make us wiser by past experience.

The prevailing fault of education in the present times, is that of making boys too soon men; parents are pleased to see their children forward, as they call it, and they mistake premature and unripe advancement for the strength and vigor of maturity. Our youth are children only in knowledge, and men in every species of vice and impudence. They are introduced to public diversions, when they should

be at their private studies; they are taken into company, when they should be playing at home; they are taught to game and drink, before they are instructed in any of their duties as men and citizens. Compare the modest simplicity and diffidence of a boy who has been properly kept back, with the pert, forward, conceited ignorance of these baby men, and then let a father, who is possessed of common prudence, determine which he should wish for his son; the choice is easy, and the means are not difficult. Let a boy, who is meant to be a worthy member of society, be kept from the knowledge of vice as long as nature will permit; let him be brought up with a constant abhorrence of profligacy and debauchery; let them never be familiar to him, nor lightly spoken of, and then, tho' he may sometimes yield to the force of nature, he will never glory in his shame, nor boast of vice with the confidence which belongs only to virtue: he will pardon the errors of others, and blush for his own, but he will never suffer the impulse of a physical necessity to mature into custom, nor give himself up to those pursuits which have neither nature nor appetite to plead for their excuse, and are the mere effects of idleness and bad company.

The design of education being not to disguise, but to improve nature, we should, in all our instructions, take her for our guide, for without this, tho' we should succeed in making children accomplished, we neither can make them useful nor amiable. The great difficulty is, to find out where nature is to be followed and where controlled. Education resembles an artificial landscape; nature is the ground-work of both, and in both she must be heightened, restrained, improved, adorned, and cultivated. The indulgence of the passions is the great motive of all our actions, yet, without they are directed to proper objects, and restrained within proper limits, they become the cause of evil and misfortune to ourselves and others. Society, without them, would be a scene of insipid monotony, and without they are limited, a scene of misery and tumult. Men who, either from the effects of education, or a selfish regard to their own interest, perpetually disguise their passions and feelings, destroy all mutual confidence, and neither themselves enjoy, nor impart to others, the happiness of social beings; while, on the other hand, they who are too open and coarse in expressing these emotions, equally disturb the harmony and decorum of society.

Young people cannot be too early taught to exercise their judgment; parents should dictate to them very sparingly, and never but when, from their tender age, it is impossible for them to distinguish, between two things of opposite natures, which is right. The great use of reason is to discriminate; to separate truth from error is the great art of life, and this can never be acquired by implicitly following the judgment of others. The more every man's judgment is left to its own exertion, the more likely that man is to discover some particle of truth, which may add to the general light, and dispel the mists of error, for on every subject there is darkness; much yet remains to be discovered, and much must be for ever hid, for the mind of man is not equal to fathom the universe.

Let young persons learn as soon as possible to do every thing they can for themselves, even to think for themselves. Advice, may sometimes be requisite, and if they are modest, and properly conscious of their own weakness, they will ask it when they are at a loss; yet such advice by no means supersedes the exercise of their own judgment. Let them read for themselves, and select for themselves, when they have arrived at the age of twelve

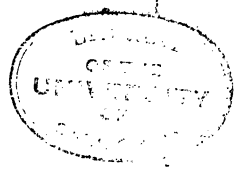
or thirteen, and let them read without prejudice or prepossession. If they have been properly educated before they arrive at that age, they may read without danger, for nothing strengthens the judgment like exercise.

The rules and advice which have here been given for the education of children, differ much, from any thing which has hitherto been proposed; they may not be generally adopted, till time has reconciled men to their novelty, for education, at present, depends on the state of society; when the state of society depends on education, both will probably be improved. Education now receives the impulse which it ought to give, and submits to the necessity which is imposed on it by things of inferior moment. Every thing valuable in the existence of men and states, depends on the formation of the youthful mind, and yet that formation is generally left to the control of chance, rather than guided by design and method. The republic of Sparta affords a proof how much education can do in forming the state of society, for the manners, laws, and customs of that singular people were all changed, in a few years, by education; but it will be said, that there the instruction of youth was public and uniform, and consequently

must effect its purpose more rapidly than when left to the will of individuals. To this it may be answered, that tho' in Sparta every thing public originated from the powerful mind of one man; and consequently the effects of that advice were likely to be more immediately felt than in the present state of society, when every individual, by means of the press, is left to form his own judgment, and to address himself, if he pleases, to that of others; yet the effect of this difference, tho' slow, is no less sure, for when just principles of education are once adopted, their operation must be regular and extensive.

It is of the greatest consequence both to individuals and the public, that young men of all ranks above the lowest should learn early to take an interest in public affairs, for nothing tends so much to elevate the mind above the petty squabbles and contentions of private life as to be interested in public characters and concerns, nor does any thing afford so constant a source of occupation and amusement. It will not by any means follow that men in private life should interfere too much in public concerns, nor neglect their own—it is only great occasions that require the exertion of public spirit in public men, but every man

may feel an interest in discussing public affairs in private, and every man ought, if he can do it without heat or animosity. It may be said that did men neglect to criticise and discuss the conduct of each other in private, the great check or control of public opinion would be removed from private conduct, and virtue or vice would become a matter of indifference. I say no. Let men avoid the society of the vicious when their conduct becomes notorious, and this will be a much more effectual restraint upon vice than any which exists at present, for it is by no means uncommon for those who abuse each other both justly and unjustly behind their backs, to be civil and even sneaking to them in their presence, so that detraction enjoys its utmost scope without producing the smallest benefit to society, while it ruins the characters of individuals without any regard to their guilt or innocence. To speak the truth is not scandal, tho' it may be libel, and as every honest man ought to guard against propagating falsehood, so he ought never to hesitate about telling what he knows to be true, whether in public or private. It is a bad maxim to teach young men to make their feelings and their principles on all occasions subservient to their interest,—prudence



requires that we should often get the better of our feelings, but that which the world calls prudence, is only a mean accommodation to interest.—Principle is the first thing in every man's character, and interest should wait upon principle, not principle upon interest.

Having thus prepared a young man to encounter the dangers of the world, I should advise that he be sent to an university, as a state between entire liberty, and the control he must submit to, under parental authority; in which, before he goes out into the world, he may find sufficient temptations to exercise his virtue, and sufficient restraints to preserve him from vice, if he avails himself of the excuse which those restraints will afford; where he will be able to hear and converse with men eminent in every science, and to have his emulation excited by the hopes of reward, and the desire of avoiding contempt; where he will find the most powerful motives to call forth his activity of mind, to rouse his dormant powers, and to learn his relative situation compared with those around him, and where, in fine, he will perceive that all his future respectability and success must depend on his own exertions; that the time for preparation is short, and must be speedily improved. Be-

fore a young man can feel all this, our universities must be very different from what they are at present; their forms, their modes of instruction, and their teachers, must be new-modelled.

The education of young women, tho' not particularly mentioned, has not been forgot in the preceding remarks, and as all that has been hitherto said, applies equally to them as to the other sex, except what relates to manly exercises and professional studies, there is little need to repeat the sentiments already expressed. The same, perhaps, has been said before by former writers, yet it is not, till lately, that the education of women has been thought of, as beings equally capable with men of mental improvement, nor are they even now so generally well educated as they deserve, or as they ought to be, for the sake of their families, when it is considered that to them, in the early part of their lives, the formation of their children's minds is generally entrusted. It has already been remarked how much of the temper and talents of a child depend on its early impressions, it is, therefore, a matter of the utmost importance that a mother be qualified and disposed to attend to these things which, tho' apparently trifles, so ma-

terially concern the future disposition of a child, for, in every thing that relates to the education of children, unless the intentions of a father are seconded by those of the mother, he must either engage in a painful struggle for superiority, or totally abandon the expectations he had formed from any particular mode of education; for what he does, she will undo, and the children, from the opposite advice they receive, will be in danger of becoming totally spoiled. An additional motive is here offered for the most liberal education of daughters; but one should think that no other could be wanting, than the comfort we might derive from a similarity of sentiment with those whom nature has formed to be our most intimate companions and our tenderest friends, and that the bond of reason should strengthen the ties of affection, and make us esteem those whom it is our duty and our greatest pleasure to admire. The female character, when strengthened by the cultivation of the mind, in addition to the attractions of the person, forms a happy union of energy and sweetness, which renders it irresistible to men of sense and refinement, and the greatest happiness the married state can bestow, is the union of minds inspired by similar ideas; such, however, is

rarely to be found, and can only be rendered more frequent by an attention to the education of females. Frivilous accomplishments are at present too much attended to, and women are not sufficiently attentive to their health; their employments are too sedentary, and their exercise too gentle. I by no means recommend manly amusements; yet frequent exposure to the air, and carefully to avoid whatever tends to relax, to weaken, to enervate, are requisite to preserve health for any long period. Boarding schools are the ruin of female constitutions, minds, and morals, and require to be completely reformed, if at all to be tolerated; yet in my opinion, the attention of an accomplished mother, or a governess at home, with the advantage of frequently being in company, are sufficient to give young women every requisite degree of polish; and without the solid *stamina* of virtuous principles, all external accomplishments are but gilded treachery. I am no stranger to human nature, tho' I have not lived much in the world, and I hesitate not to say, that too frequent intercourse between the sexes, and too much company, are dangerous for young women. Prudence and modesty are indispensible to female excellence; they contain all the good that females

can contribute to society. The most that can be expected from the best education, is to increase the number of the wise and virtuous; to make all mankind so is impossible by this means, tho' the power of the vicious may not be wholly overcome, it will be considerably lessened, and many serious evils corrected and reformed.

A FEW WORDS ON THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

THE British constitution is the result of gradual experience, it is a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, which some men have called the completion of human wisdom, and others a mere compound of folly. The fundamental principle on which it rests, is older than the Saxons, for the right of the people to deliberate personally in all public affairs, can be traced to the Germans. Whether the people were represented in the Saxon Wiltanagemet has been much disputed among antiquarians, and it is now merely an antiquarian question, for the right rests not on its antiquity but on its justice. I am inclined to think that the Saxon senate was partly representative. The distinct powers which belong to the three different branches of which our government is composed, are the result of time and information, tho' it is somewhat sin-

gular that they were almost as accurately defined before the Norman conquest as they have ever been since, and all that has been subsequently gained is chiefly the restitution of the antient Saxon laws and government—for William the Norman wished to render himself arbitrary and so did his successors, but such was the spirit of the people and the power of the barons, that they forced from one of the fiercest tyrants of the Norman race, the restoration of that representative government which is the foundation of our liberty.* The first power in the British government is the people, for them are the laws enacted by their representatives, by the lords, and by the crown, and of these three powers does the constitution consist. The king possesses a double or mixed power, it is chiefly executive, but partly legislative, inasmuch as his sanction is requisite to the formation of the laws. The power of the lords is judicial as well as legislative. The representation of the people is the fundamental article of the constitution, the lords may be voted useless, and the king may be dethroned, but the people can never be annihilated, and to be free they must be freely represented.—

* v. Magna Charta, cap. 14.

The king may in some cases temper the severity of the law by the exercise of mercy, but the House of Commons alone, can redress the grievances of the people, *or become their greatest grievance;* they are the grand inquest of the nation for relieving the wants, and removing the oppressions of the people; it is their duty and privilege to impose such burdens on them as may be requisite for their internal government and external defence, and to see that these contributions are honestly employed. Whenever they cease to exercise these functions, and become the mere servile instruments of the crown or the aristocracy, their popular qualities are extinct, and they render themselves (under the forms of liberty), the active agents of oppression. Tho' the king is the head of the constitution, by convention and consent, yet the people are the sovereign by nature and by right, for all power is exercised for their good and by their permission. The physical strength resides with the governed, and therefore all authority is derived from them, but for the sake of unity, dispatch, and convenience, they have invested the king with the supreme executive power, and to avoid the confusion, intrigue, and danger of an elective supremacy, they have rendered his power he-

reditary; still reserving to themselves the right of changing the succession whenever the misconduct of their kings requires their interference. A principle most clearly established at the revolution. That the king can do no wrong is one of those maxims by which the nature of the kingly power is defined, and to a certain extent it has its uses, for in ordinary cases it prevents a vexatious and needless enquiry into the conduct of the executive, and throws the king's responsibility upon his ministers, but whenever either of these presume to trench upon the grand principles of the constitution, to violate the laws, or to attempt an alteration of the government, that maxim has been disregarded, and the king has been punished both for his own misdeeds, and those of his ministers, and as kings are but men, a king, who has manifestly transgressed the bounds of his authority, is as much the subject of punishment as a highwayman or an assassin. I am sorry to say that there is at present such a disposition in the higher powers to encroach upon the provisions of the constitution, that perpetual vigilance is requisite on the part of the people to preserve their rights, privileges, and liberties inviolate, and this vigilance must be exercised in popular assemblies le-

gally convened, not for the purpose, as it has been said, of overawing the legislature, but of recalling the different branches of it to a sense of their duty, and their interest.

The veneration of an Englishman for the constitution of his country, is not because it is written in a book, or has been decreed by a solemn assembly, but because he feels that it secures his liberty and his property, and has produced a greater degree of happiness than any other human institution which has been known to exist. I will not say all that has been said of it in theory, because I am well convinced that much of its excellence has been impaired by vicious practice, and that from the increase of luxury, and diminished value of money, justice is neither so cheap nor so easily attainable as it ought to be; but for the redress of these and many other grievances we want only a more equal representation in parliament, and that may be acquired by the increasing spirit and information of the people, without any change in the present mode of election, or any violent commotion. The great excellence of the British constitution is, that it possesses, like nature, a principle of renovation, which, if preserved, will reach to immortality.

The words constitution and law having caused some confusion of ideas and expressions, it is requisite that they should be more accurately understood. Constitution means that form of government under which men live together in any particular country, and from whence is derived the power of making laws.—There are two kinds of law, first, the law which defines the rights and duties of the different branches of the constitution, subsequent to their first formation, which is called constitutional law, and secondly, that which defines the rights and duties of citizens, and is called municipal law.—These laws equally declare the will of the governing power, but part of them relate to itself, and part to the other members of the state, that is the people, for whose benefit alone both the law and the constitution exist. All laws relating to elections, for instance, are constitutional laws, as well as those which relate to the convening, and dissolving parliaments, or to the exercise of the royal prerogative. The Habeas Corpus is a municipal law, as well as those, whether written or unwritten, which concern the liberty or restraint of the press, and the trial by jury, in actions criminal or civil; this will, I trust, sufficiently mark the difference between

the law and the constitution. As the fundamental principle of good government is representation, no man can be said to be a free man who is not either actually or virtually represented, who is not either represented or supposed to be so, for however the practice of representation may be corrupted, yet where the principle is acknowledged, there must always remain some degree of freedom.—That government which affords protection at the cheapest rate is comparatively the best; but when governments become so expensive and extravagant as to take from the people a considerable portion of their property under the name of taxes, they can only be said to defend them against others, that they may rob them with greater security, and the only difference to the people is, that the robbery committed by government is regular and certain, and that of a mob is uncertain and violent. The antiquity of the English constitution is one of its greatest securities, for while the paper constitutions of France and Italy have been blotted out, or torn in pieces by one despot after another, the constitution of England remains written in the hearts of the people, and while one true Englishman exists it can never be forgotten. The first thing which

every man in this country ought to teach his children is, to understand and to venerate the liberties which are transmitted to him by his ancestors, and of which the chief maxims are, "That no man can be imprisoned, detained, or outlawed, but by the judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land. "That every man's house is his castle." "That there is no wrong without a remedy." "That no man can be deprived of his property but by due course of law." "That no man can be taxed without his own consent, or that of his representatives." "That every man's right to his liberties is older than the title deeds to the oldest estate." "That Englishmen ought to be as free as their own thoughts, and that their liberty consists in doing all things which are not injurious to the liberty of others."

Should the time ever arrive when the legislature can coolly and fearlessly venture to review those defects of the constitution, which either belong to its original formation, or have crept in thro' time and abuse, there are some things of no very small moment which ought to be attended to, but this time will not come till the great and radical abuse of rotten boroughs is removed. The first and most essential grievance which requires a remedy,

is the arbitrary and undefined nature of parliamentary privilege. It was once very accurately defined, but since power has been added to privilege, it knows no bounds, and may in time be subversive of all those rights and liberties it pretends to preserve. No privilege, which is not positively requisite for the discharge of their functions, ought to be allowed to the members of either house, and it is ridiculous to say that these functions can be interrupted by the most atrocious libel; and as to their dignity being insulted, that will always be best preserved by their own conduct as men and as legislators. As a matter of minor importance, it is to be desired that the power of voting by proxy should be given up by the lords, for it is a satire upon every debate to find that there is on the division a certain number of men who exercise the privilege either of knowing it by inspiration, or of voting without any regard to the argument or eloquence on either side of the question. It is also much to be wished that the lords had a speaker of their own, who should have no other employment, and that the bishops should no longer be withdrawn from their spiritual duties, by attending their temporal concerns as barons. It is desirable that there should be a regular attend-

ance of at least fifty peers, for six hours, three times in a week during the session, under a heavy penalty, and the same in the Commons for five days in the week. It is desirable also that more roomy accommodation should be provided for the auditory in both houses, and that all debates should be public, except in secret committees, for nothing gives the constituent so great a hold upon his representative as the publicity of debates. It would also be well ordered that no naval or military officer, on actual service, should be a member of the House of Commons, unless we can suppose that either of these stations confers on the man who holds them the power of ubiquity, or at least of being in two places at once; for the office of a legislator is much too weighty to be filled by any man who is otherwise actively employed. It may be said that the same doctrine should be held with regard to lawyers—but there is a distinction to be attended to between an office and a profession. A lawyer may attend the House of Commons whenever he pleases, but an officer who is receiving a salary for another duty cannot attend when he pleases, and therefore ought to vacate his seat, for his political and military duties are incompatible.

It is not meant in this short treatise to give a

minute detail of the British constitution, all that is meant is to place in a strong point of view its distinguished excellencies, and to excite men of all ranks to study its provisions and value its benefits. I am happy to say this study is becoming fashionable. I wish it were more the fashion to practice it. The materials for a valuable work on the British constitution lie scattered through such an immense number of volumes, that it is almost a hopeless task to think of wading thro' such a stream of history and dissertation; it has, however, been many times attempted, but no one has yet succeeded in giving a correct and practical treatise on the subject. Acherly's is the best, tho' neither the form of his work, nor his mode of writing, are pleasant. Blackstone, tho' he professes to treat only on the laws, contains much valuable information on the constitution, but he is neither profound, nor correct, and too much inclined to favor the ruling powers. The Essay of De Lolme is a mere rhapsody, a Utopian romance, in which no practical knowledge is to be found. Millar is too diffuse, and deals too much in theory.—Custance has given the best arrangement of the subject, but has not sufficient knowledge, and is besides so violently religious, that he is perpetu-

ally quoting the Bible, when he ought to be quoting Glanville, Bracton, or Fleta. Mr King, a dry antiquarian, attempted the subject, but his treatise is too much limited, for it relates only to one branch of the constitution.

POLITICAL ŒCONOMY.

HAPPINESS is the end and object of all political institutions; not the happiness of a few individuals, but of the whole community, and those institutions are good or bad, only as they promote this purpose. Even in Athens and Rome, the comforts and convenience of the multitude were not so much considered as those of a few great men, who indentified themselves with the state, and made the glory of the whole to depend on their own exploits. In both these far-famed republics, the great body of the people were in a wretched state of degredation and ignorance, their religion was superstition, their morality was pride, and their happiness was in tumult and confusion; they were totally ignorant of the principles of commerce, their lands were cultivated by slaves, and war was their chief employment. Where then are we to look for just notions of happiness among them, for that solid and substan-

tial comfort which consists in the full exercise of the social affections, in a moderate enjoyment of corporeal pleasures, in the refined feelings of taste and sensibility, in the limited pursuit of wealth, in the honorable occupations of the mind, in the pleasures of knowledge, in the application of science to practical purposes, and in the superior luxury of doing good to individuals and to society? Such exalted notions of happiness are to be found only among a limited number, even amid the boasted refinement of Greece and Rome, and yet these ideas ought to be generally diffused, before we should talk of the happiness or virtue of a country. If we look among the lower ranks of society in these famous states, we shall find them in a state of mental and social degredation, little better than the savages of Africa, and not equal to the inhabitants of Mexico. To the decent comforts of life (as they were once enjoyed by the peasants of this country), they were totally strangers; even the better sort had few ideas of happiness but in the glory of their country, a glory which consisted in destroying their species; when wearied with their work of blood, they sat down and called it peace, and boasted of their victories, dearly purchased, and never enjoyed. Such were the

people of Greece and Rome; to their literature, and to a few great men, are these states indebted for the splendid figure they have made in the world, so that, if we form an opinion of the general happiness and information from the attainments of a few individuals, our estimate will be very far from the truth, for in countries where the means of diffusing knowledge were few and difficult, the generality of the people were out of the pale of learning. The theatres in some measure tended to refine the feelings of the people, tho' their plays were in general directed to no great moral purpose, for their tragedies frequently represented actions of no good tendency, and their comedies were coarse satire. The amphitheatres of Rome were no better than bear-gardens, where the people were instructed in murder and blood-shed. Tho' many of their philosophers had formed tolerably just notions of happiness and society, yet they seem more to have instructed future ages than their own, and to have legislated for posterity rather than for the times they lived in; for, by the invention of printing, their works are now more generally diffused than they were while they lived. To them we are certainly indebted for many ideas on political œconomy of considerable

value, yet not to be compared with the improvements of modern times. Montesquieu, Turgot, and Smith, are worth ten thousand such writers as Plato and Aristotle; for the former of these wrote from his own imagination rather than actual experience, and the other, tho' he argued upon facts, was too subtle and refined to be of much practical utility. Tho' much has been done by many great men towards the melioration of society, much remains to be done, by extending and diffusing those just and liberal ideas, which are yet limited to a few, and to be generally useful must be generally adopted, but chiefly among the upper and wealthy ranks; for statesmen must be enlightened before the people can be happy, and till the liberal principles of Smith and Turgot are understood and acted upon by the rulers of states, the comforts and pleasures which nature has abundantly provided can never be generally diffused. Commerce must be disentangled from many restraints, before men can enjoy the blessings of nature, peacefully and extensively. Statesmen must find out their own happiness, and power depends on those of the people, and that the prosperity of a country is not to be estimated by the luxury of a few, or even many individuals,

but by the comforts, content, and enlightened state of the people in all ranks, and that the true policy of government does not consist in suppressing their remonstrances, but in removing the cause of complaint.

The science of politics, so little understood by our forefathers, is of all others the most useful and comprehensive; it is to the moral world what chemistry is to the natural, for as the one embraces all the objects of nature, so the other comprehends all that regards the happiness of man, as an individual and a member of civilized society. To preserve a just regulation of the world, men must not only know their own duty, but in a general view they must be acquainted with that of others. Every man should learn what he is bound to perform, and what he has a right to expect from his superiors; it is not requisite that we should all be legislators, yet it is neither impossible nor difficult that we should know what is required of a legislator; for, if reason is not exercised in that station in which a man is placed, it is a mere barren possession.

The subjects which political œconomy embraces are various, and almost infinite; for, after the formation of government, which depends on political science, all the rest comes

under the description of political œconomy, but where the former is not founded on just principles, we must not look for the other. Men began to plunder before they began to trade; such is the lamentable picture of society drawn by Thucydides, in the short but comprehensive preface to his history. Till the formation of towns and cities, we must not expect to find any thing like political œconomy. Herodotus, the earliest authentic historian, whose works are now extant, has given a favorable account of the Egyptian institutions, and, it is worthy of remark, that despotic governments, where the princes are wise and virtuous, have been the best administered; but this is no decisive argument in their favor in preference to popular institutions, because for one king that has done good, hundreds have been murderers and tyrants, and popular governments have never yet had a fair trial in any country but America, and America is the freest country in the world. The tyrannies of Asia have at times produced monarchs who have consulted, in some degree, the good and happiness of their people, to the best of their knowledge, but political science among them was in its infancy. To Greece and Rome we must look for more

enlarged and liberal ideas of government and society, yet even them we shall find defective in the great end of political institutions; for neither their religion, their morality, nor their politics, were of a nature to promise much general happiness.

Xenophon is the first writer who treated on subjects of political œconomy, and his treatise, tho' short, is of inestimable value. In an essay on the Athenian republic, he confesses and laments the poverty, wretchedness, and ignorance of the people; and he maintains, that tho' they were not qualified to have any share in the government, yet to that share which they possessed, he says, they were alone indebted for their liberty, as there was a constant desire in their richer superiors to enslave and oppress them. From such a confession, it is easy to infer, that there were in Athens but two ranks of men, the rich and the poor; as a remedy for this inconvenience, he proposes a variety of methods, to encrease the provisions and population of the country. He states, first of all, its natural advantages, and, as the means of increasing these, he advises, in the second chapter, to promote the settling and residence of foreigners, by affording them every inducement for the purpose. In the third chapter,

he proposes granting every indulgence to merchants. In the fourth, he discusses the use and excellence of mines, and tho' in this chapter, his intentions are good, he shews that he was unacquainted with the present principles of commerce, which, so far from permitting government to have any share in its management, leave it entirely to the protection of individuals and the country; but the last chapter is worth all the rest, for in direct opposition to the sentiments of all other statesmen, who think only of destroying their species, and consider war and taxation to be the whole of their employment, he proposes peace as the best means of increasing the population and revenue, by promoting industry and commerce.

His treatise on the equestrian art, so far as it relates to a manly and healthy exercise, may be considered as a branch of political œconomy; and here (tho' not strictly within the limits of my subject), I will speak of that most excellent of all his works, the Œconomics; in which all the relative duties of life are marked out with accuracy and feeling, and every thing which can make a man happy in his own breast, and an honor to society, is drawn in characters, clear, apposite, and forcible; and the foundation for every thing

great and honorable in public life, is laid in private virtue, on a basis of morality which no shock, nor accident, nor temptation, can endanger.

To Xenophon succeeded Plato and Aristotle, who have incidentally treated some subjects of political œconomy. The ancients never combined the words *political œconomy*, for they were strangers to the ideas they conveyed, when united; they understood them separately, and applied the one to a family, and the other to a state, but they never considered a state as a family. This benevolent view of things was reserved for modern times, and for the French nation; it is there we find the words, political œconomy, first combined.

Sully was one of those statesmen who governed with a view to the good of the people, more than their own interest, and it is to him that we are to look for the first notions of this great science. Finance is the grand object of all ministers, and tho' it is easy to lay on taxes, it is not easy to make them productive. Sully was the first who thought of doing so, by promoting the industry and comforts of the people. He laid the foundation of the future prosperity of France, and sowed that seed which was afterwards reaped, by the rapacious

hands of Richlieu and Mazarin. His private virtues were a pledge to the public for the regularity of his public conduct, and the management of the state was only that of his family upon a larger scale. The man who is profligate and improvident in the management of his own affairs, can never be œconomical in those of the public, tho' a great statesman may be a man of bad private morality. The first object of Sully, after he commenced his administration, was to regulate the finances, which had before been squandered by the profligacy of mistresses and favorites, who had reduced the king and the country to the lowest pitch of distress and poverty. Henry felt the evils which he so long suffered, tho' he was good-natured and ignorant. He listened to the base insinuations of those who wished to keep Sully at a distance; but time and perseverance enabled this great man to expose all their villainies, and open the eyes of the king to his true interest.

Tho' animated by the best intentions for the good of the country and of his master, Sully seems to have been ignorant of the true principles of commerce, which have since been more fully developed. His love of frugality and œconomy induced him to lead it with

many checks and restraints in order to oppose the progress of luxury, but luxury, to a certain extent, is inseparable from riches, as riches are from prosperity, and he who restrains the one inevitably restrains the other. It is only when luxury creates excessive poverty that it can be injurious. Sully's intentions were good, yet his ideas of the wealth and prosperity of a state were narrow and illiberal, because they were formed from a partial and limited view of things; he saw a few individuals who had grown rich at the expence of the public, blazing their splendid luxuries in the eyes of the poor, and insulting the impoverished nobility; his virtuous pride was offended, when comparing the meanness of their origin with the immensity of their wealth. So far he was right; but when he attempted to restrain luxury in general, he was wrong, for he never considered that wealth, properly distributed and honestly obtained, increases the strength and happiness of a kingdom, and makes even luxury to be innocent. More liberal notions of political œconomy would have taught him, that when comforts are generally extended, luxuries can be injurious to none, and it is only when they are enjoyed by a few that they destroy the prosperity of the whole. A few rich

men make many poor, but when riches are moderate and diffused, the poor must partake of their comforts.

To appreciate justly the character of this great man, as a political œconomist, we ought to take into consideration the times in which he lived, and then wonder, not at the defects, but the extent of his knowledge, and his incorruptible integrity. Rapacity, dishonesty, and ignorance, were the prevailing features in the character of every minister before him, he deserves, therefore, the greatest praise for having introduced œconomy and arrangement into the affairs of finance, and protected every branch of honest industry. That he exposed the vices of his predecessors, and conducted the government on different principles from theirs, is sufficiently to his praise, without expecting from him that intuitive wisdom, which comprehends at a glance the whole of the political machine, and outstrips the collected experience of ages. It is enough to say of any one man, that he sowed the seeds of knowledge, which others have abundantly reaped, and it is enough to say of Sully, that to him we are indebted for all the practical and theoretical oeconomists, who have existed since the times in which he lived.

The immediate successors of Sully were Richlieu and Mazarin, two profligate and ambitious plunderers of the nation, consummate proficients in the arts of intrigue, but destitute of every honest principle, either in public or private. They were the men who first degraded the French character from the elevated pitch which it had attained under the virtuous government of Henry the Fourth, and by the crafty spirit of *finesse* and subtlety, which they introduced into every department of the state, made every Frenchman a courtier. The noble Henry and his generous minister disdained to be won by the base artifices of flattery and intrigue, but these cunning priests favored in others those arts by which they themselves had risen to power. Their different administrations were a continued conspiracy against the liberty and happiness of Europe, and deserve to be blotted from the history of civilized nations. Their system of politics had no other object than the gratification of their own avarice and ambition, and as to a system of political œconomy, they had none, but to get as much money from the people as they could, to support their schemes of intrigue and conquest. Richlieu was too jealous of literary fame to protect men of genius, and if the litera-

ture of France began to dawn under his administration, it must be attributed to other causes than to his protection or support. Mazarin was the professed enemy of literature, he trusted every thing to art and address; in short, under both these ministers, the national happiness was squandered and despised.

To these tyrants, succeeded the illustrious Colbert, the patron of arts, commerce, and literature, the man to whom France was more indebted than to all the victories of Louis the XIV. He was in many respects the opposite of Sully, therefore their different systems of administration require to be distinctly examined, in order to determine with accuracy, to which of them the world is most indebted. The same spirit of œconomy and arrangement, in the management of the public accounts, is to be found in both, but their ideas respecting the interest of the country were totally opposite. The one favored simplicity and frugality, the other favored luxury and expence; the one was the enemy of the elegant arts, because he considered them as introducing dissipation and effiminacy, the other was the constant patron of science and literature, because he thought they tended to elegance and refinement; the one was a stern and inflexible

moralist; the other was no less rigid in his notions of morality, but considered them as not incompatible with elegant accomplishments; the one was the enemy of foreign commerce, as tending to corrupt the country by the introduction of luxury, the other gave the preference to commerce over the simple operations of agriculture, because it tended to soften the prejudices of ignorance, and enlarge the comforts of society. France, under Sully, was perhaps more virtuous, but under Colbert she was more enlightened, and, if it is impossible to enjoy the refinements of society without some degree of corruption, we must still give the preference to the philpsopher, over the illiterate nobleman or peasant. We admire the virtue of Sully, but we must not depreciate the wisdom of Colbert, for if society, as some believe, is in a progressive state, that man deserves the greatest praise, who advances beyond his predecessors in knowledge and refinement. To those who believe that virtue and luxury are incompatible, the merits of Sully will appear more splendid; but they who are of opinion that the greatest improvement of which society is capable, is to unite morality and refinement, and to diffuse wealth, happiness, and comfort, will consider Colbert

as the more useful man, the better minister and the greater friend of mankind, because he has contributed to enlarge the bounds of knowledge, which Sully, with timid prudence and short-sighted wisdom, wished to restrain, as dangerous to the interests of virtue and morality.

The impolicy of Colbert's regulations with respect to commerce has been ably exposed by a great theoretical œconomist, and experience has proved the justice and wisdom of his remarks; for the freedom of commerce, like the freedom of the press, should never be restrained till it becomes a public grievance, instead of a public good; when it has exceeded the limits of convenience, it is no longer an object of protection or support.

Another Frenchman of illustrious reputation has contributed to enlighten and improve mankind on the subject of political œconomy. Montesquieu, in his Spirit of Laws, in discussing those which relate to political œconomy, has thrown much light upon a subject, which yet requires many years of experience in all its branches to bring to maturity. His remarks are the result of deep observation, and extensive knowledge of the laws and manners of different nations, but he rather tells us what

has been than what ought to be; he has too frequently only mentioned facts, and left his readers to deduce the inferences.

Montesquieu, with all his merits, has many faults. He wished to save appearances with the government under which he lived, and therefore dared not to attack openly the unjust institutions of his own, and other countries; he speaks more favorably of positive than of natural rights; he considers that the laws and government of all nations ought to be suited to the temper and dispositions of the people; and, therefore, denominates them good or bad, as they bear to be tried by this test, and not by the principles of reason, which are of general application. This is his grand maxim, and tho' we find some deviations from it in different parts of his book, yet these are rather to be attributed to the force of truth, than to the honesty or judgment of the author. According to this maxim, all governments are good while they adhere to their original principles. He ought rather to have considered them good or bad, as they are formed and administered on principles of reason and justice; for justice is only the application of reason to the affairs of the world, and reason, when undisguised by custom and prejudice, is the

same in all men. One country is therefore equally as capable of being governed by the principles of justice as another, perhaps not immediately, but ultimately; to deny this, is to deny that reason is every where the same, or that the natives of New Holland are not as capable of being governed by British laws a hundred years hence, as it might have been five hundred years ago, to say, that our laws were not capable of being further improved. The prosperity and morality of a people, depend on the nature of their government, and not the government on them, but on the dispositions of a few individuals; for a proof of this look at, and compare, ancient Greece and Italy with what they are at present.

The œconomists, a set of philosophers in France, who exalted the merits of agriculture above those of commerce and manufactures, have so far been guilty of a gross error, and Adam Smith has shewn the fallacy of that part of their system which represents the labor of manufacturers, merchants, and artisans, as barren and unproductive, but he has neglected to shew the cause of it. It was the misfortune of these theorists, as of all others, to be bigotted to one particular state of things, and consequently to depreciate whatever opposed

their own ideas. It was their object to exalt the merits of agriculture over those of commerce, as leading to a more simple and innocent life, and they therefore either wilfully or ignorantly substituted a verbal for an essential distinction; for tho' the farmer, by his labor, does actually reproduce, every year, all that contributes to the clothing and food of man, yet the manufacturer, who gives that produce another form, and the merchant who is the means of its distribution, equally contribute to the comfort and convenience of the whole; they are, therefore, equally useful to society. The doctrines of the œconomists, tho' illiberal and short sighted, have produced many converts among those who either envy the luxuries of others, or conscientiously despise them. Bonaparte, as the professed enemy of commerce, has found many advocates in this country, tho' I doubt the chief motive of these men is their dislike of submitting to the great, and their love of ruling the little. Many a man likes to declaim against luxury merely because it gives him a command over the multitude, when that very same man is in his own practice an admirer of luxury and all its concomitants, a lover of aristocratical distinctions, and a despiser of his inferiors.

The illustrious Turgot comes next in the rank of political oeconomists, and from his administration we must date a new æra in the history of society. Erroneous practices, sanctioned by time, were exploded by his piercing intellect, and principles, founded on the essential relations of men to each other in society, were developed and extended—such were the services of Turgot to mankind. It is requisite to shew what these principles were, which were now first brought to light. The necessity of examining and discussing every opinion which concerns the interest of society, to find out whether it is capable of producing practical utility, which was his grand maxim, from which all the rest naturally resulted.

The next which he established, was the freedom of commerce from all restraint and interference on the part of government; this also was unknown to the world, because it was formerly conceived that commerce could not thrive without the aid of government. In its infancy, it is true, it might require protection, but there is a certain point at which that interference ceases to be useful, and becomes injurious. The necessity of rendering equal justice to all men, was another of his fundamental maxims, which, applied to the political

œconomy of a state, induced him to destroy many odious privileges, and relieve the poor from many unjust vexations.

The administration of Turgot was succeeded by a series of events, which caused the objects of political œconomy to be forgotten or disregarded. The ruinous American war, and the prodigality of Maria Antoinette, occasioned such a disturbance in the finances, that succeeding ministers thought only of providing for the necessities of the state, and neglected the comforts of the people. Like many others who are anxious for a particular end, they forgot the means, and in their disputes about the detail of finance, they seemed to disregard every other purpose, till at length the necessity of calling together the States General, put an end to all their schemes, and introduced a revolution, which, like a violent storm, has in some measure purified the political atmosphere.

The subject of political œconomy was never professedly undertaken by any English author before Sir James Steuart, who first published his elaborate discussion in 1767. Sir William Petty, Davenant, Hume, and others, had treated on different parts of this interesting subject, and opened the way for future writers; but

Steuart professes to have been most indebted to the French œconomists. This author, tho' he deserves great praise for his intentions, has undertaken a subject too great for his powers, at least he has given his book a title which it does not deserve; for instead of treating political œconomy in general, he has only entered on a few of its branches, such as agriculture, population, money, and trade, while he has omitted many others of infinite importance. The principles he has laid down, are, no doubt, accurately developed, and Smith has borrowed from him without acknowledging the obligation. The method of Steuart is tedious, his stile more so, and the whole of his dry researches on population and luxury might be reduced to these few lines. The population of a country will always be in proportion to the means of subsistence, and luxury will always depend on the mode in which subsistence is divided; for suppose one hundred men can raise and manufacture produce sufficient to support a thousand, if that is engrossed by a hundred, they will enjoy luxuries while the other nine hundred have only a bare subsistence; thus luxuries and poverty will always be in an exact proportion.

The profound reflections on the circulation

and value of money, with which part of the first and the whole of the second volume are taken up, hang like a dead weight upon the book, and sink it to perpetual oblivion; for I will venture to say, that where ten people read Smith, not one ever looks at Sir James Steuart. The complicated movements of society are rendered more complicated in his book, instead of being simplified, so as to be easily understood, which ought to have been the writer's endeavor; for no man does so great a service to the world, as he who attempts to simplify what is intricate and perplexed. With all his merits, both of intention and execution, Sir James Steuart is now become a neglected author, while his countryman, Adam Smith, continues to be read and admired, for he is, of all that have yet written on the subject of political œconomy, the most luminous and liberal. He has been taxed with some errors in his principles, and this is by no means improbable, as he certainly wrote more from theory than from actual experience; he has represented things as they ought to be, rather than as they are, yet he has become the text book of most modern politicians, who swear by him right or wrong, just as it suits their purpose. The principles which he has

laid down are indeed generally conducive to the good and happiness of society, and were they adhered to throughout, there could be no danger in applying them, but he has supposed them to be practised under certain situations, which, if they do not exist, seem to destroy the truth of his positions. In all that he has said relating to the corn trade, he has never imagined it possible that paper credit, and commercial speculation, could have been carried to the extent we have seen in our times; he therefore very liberally supposed it impossible that any set of men could have it in their power to commit such extensive injury to their fellow-creatures, as almost to deprive whole ranks of their subsistence, and certainly of their comforts. Had he now been alive, he must either have given up his own principles, or condemned the conduct of those who applied them, when the state of society was so materially different from all that he could ever have supposed. He perhaps, never thought it possible for a government to exist for any length of time, whose existence depended on a basis of paper, after having mortgaged the whole national property to pay their debts. Had he lived to see this, he would not have been astonished at the tender-

ness with which they treated those men, whose existence they had partly created, and whose speculations were so intimately connected with the safety of the state, as to defy the hand of government to interfere with or molest them; for what such speculators wring from the poor, they lend to the government, or pay them in taxes.

The situation of things which has been here displayed, tho' it does not lessen the value of the principles of Adam Smith, certainly lessens the necessity for their constant application, and tho' when better times arrive, they may without danger be enforced, yet there is no doubt that they at present sanction iniquity, injustice, and fraud. A striking proof of this is to be found in the combinations of bakers, millers, and brewers, to keep up the price of their commodities.

The different branches of political œconomy which have been treated of by different authors, it is almost impossible to enumerate, and as they at present lie dispersed, they fail to produce that general and extensive good, of which they are capable, and which they probably intended to produce. Were they collected together into one comprehensive and regular work, to which any person who wished

for information might refer, their utility would most probably be doubled, and the public reap all the benefit which their authors originally intended. A work of this sort, however tedious and difficult, would become easy and light, by the united endeavours of eight or ten individuals, who with zeal and ability for the undertaking, might abridge the labored researches of various authors, and reduce them into one volume, and call it a *Dictionary of Political Œconomy.*

A national work of this sort (for such I do not hesitate to call it), might expect to be aided by the purse and authority of government. The utility of such an undertaking, I should trust, could not be doubted, when it is remembered how many interesting subjects of political œconomy yet remain untouched, and how many are incompletely understood. When there is room then for so many improvements, which ought to originate from government, but at least to be protected by them, it is surely of importance that these subjects should be accurately discussed by men of the first-rate talents, and their suggestions adopted by the legislature; open, however, according to the increasing wisdom of the times, to continual improvements. It

has been the misfortune of Great Britain that she has never had a king, nor even a minister, who paid any regard to political œconomy. The whole administration of Pitt was employed in opposing the progress of political improvement.

The subject of population being the most important in the whole department of political oeconomy, deserves somewhat more of our attention than the rest; and since the light which has been thrown upon it by Townsend and Malthus, it would be shameful to defend any of the old errors which they have so happily exploded, and not to extend our enquiries, when the road to new information is so fully opened. Allowing Mr Malthus's first position to be true, viz. that population increases in geometrical, and the means of subsistence only in arithmetical progression, and that vice and misery are perpetually at work to reduce the numbers of mankind, and keep the balance even, the most important consequences may be deduced from these premises, which will enlighten many subjects, not only of political, but of moral oeconomy.—The first consequence to be derived from this datum, is the impossibility of ever realizing a complete state of earthly happiness, and thus dissipating the

philosophic dream of liberty and equality. While a redundant population is ever pressing upon the means of subsistence, misery and inequality, to a certain degree, must exist in society, and it will be impossible ever to adjust the balance so nicely, or to divide property so equally, as to have just as much meat as there are mouths to be filled. By whatever means then, the equilibrium is tolerably preserved, some degree of unhappiness must be produced; for whether the old correctives of vice and misery remain, or the new one of moral restraint takes place, unhappiness must in some measure be the consequence; for every man who feels a strong propensity to matrimony, and restrains himself from moral and prudential considerations, must be so far unhappy, tho' he may avoid greater unhappiness by so doing. Whoever, therefore, suggests visionary schemes of happiness, for the full enjoyment of all our natural powers and faculties, is ignorant of the constitution and moral government of the world, and exposes himself and others to certain misery. The principle of population, if unrestrained, has a a perpetual tendency to vice and misery, and even when restrained by the utmost efforts of moral wisdom and forbearance, cannot fail to

create some degree of unhappiness. To mitigate the evils naturally flowing from this powerful principle, Mr. Malthus has suggested the operation of that moral restraint, which shall prevent men from marrying without the certain prospect of procuring the means of subsistence for themselves and their families, but he has laid too much to the charge of population, and too little to the charge of government; for there can be no doubt that the present unjust and unequal division of property has a powerful tendency to limit population, by the waste which men of large fortunes cause in the means of subsistence. To extend population, property must be somewhat more equally divided than it is at present, for every man of ten thousand a year, wastes annually the subsistence of at least ten people, and so on in proportion; so that such property is a considerable deduction from the strength and happiness of every country. It is neither practicable nor desirable that population should be so increased as to reduce man to a mere subsistence, but it is desirable to extend it so far as is consistent with the greatest possible enjoyment to the greatest number of people; for in this light, and in this only, an

extensive population is to any nation an increase of happiness and strength.

The new light thrown upon this important topic, naturally leads to the consideration of providing for the poor. The great disproportion between population and the means of subsistence, is the principal cause of all the miseries which exist in the world, and it excites very curious speculations on the intentions of that Being, by whom it was so contrived, if such a system can be the result of contrivance and design. The casual inequality of property having left those ranks of society who toil the most, the worst provided for, and having created not only those who are comparatively, but those who are positively poor, it belongs to the wisdom and virtue of enlightened men to endeavor to restore in some degree the balance which is at present so very disproportionate, and render the lighter side at least able to support itself against the pressure at the opposite extreme.

The state of the poor in this country, and every thing that relates to them, call loudly for revision and reform: the nation is oppressed, and they are not relieved by the laws now in force to provide for them. The immense mass of statutes, formed from parti-

cular exigencies and limited experience (tho' many are obsolete, because the circumstances which occasioned them have now ceased to operate), should be gradually removed, and the poor left to support themselves, by the proper application of their industry, and by an increased knowledge of their true interest, and when they have only these resources to trust to, they will be better supported than by parish bounty or forced subsistence, the country and the poor will both be relieved, and the trouble of those who administer these ridiculous laws may be wholly spared. One fact is worth fifty arguments—Scotland and Ireland have no poor laws, and yet the poor in these countries are not more numerous, nor more wretched than in England. The sums which are annually raised for the support of the poor, every one must allow are enormous; it is natural then to ask, why are they so miserable? the answer is obvious, because this is not the proper method of providing for their wants; give them useful knowledge, or knowledge suitable to their station, rather than money, and they will then act according to their own interest. The expence, the intricacy, the impolicy, the injustice, and the cruelty of the poor laws, form the strongest ground of objec-

tion against them, and prove to a demonstration that they ought to be gradually repealed. The first head is enormous; it has swelled to such a size, that it will soon become too big for the body, and increase the numbers of the poor, for it falls so unequally and partially, that every man does not contribute according to his property, but according to the district in which he happens to live, for in some opulent and fashionable parts of great towns the rich pay nothing, and in others the middle ranks are reduced to poverty by taxation. The intricacy of these laws can never be doubted, when it is remembered how much it costs to explain them, and to settle the disputes which their ambiguity gives rise to. The impolicy of the poor laws is sufficiently evident, from the temptations they hold out to idleness, debauchery, and improvident marriages, by inducing those who have no probable means of providing for their children, either natural or legitimate, to trust them to be maintained by the parish. Their injustice arises from the circumstance of their compulsory nature, in making any man provide for the maintenance of another. See how injustice has a tendency to beget injustice, you deprive one man of his rights, and he is dis-

abled from gaining a livelihood, to remedy this you compel another to provide for him, and so both of them are oppressed, for all injustice is oppression.—The cruelty of the poor laws consists not only in their radical injustice, for all injustice is cruelty; but in their administration.

Were the poor educated in principles of œconomy, sobriety, and prudence, there could be no danger of their making an improper use of the surplus of their wages, for such principles will teach them how it is to be applied; and where casual instances of distress and poverty arise, they may safely be left to the relief of private benificence. It is to be hoped that the exertions of Joseph Lancaster, first excited by Dr Bell, and those of the clergy, excited by Lancaster, will so improve the condition of the poor, as to allow the poor laws to be gradually removed.

The folly of raising funds for the poor to be managed by others, in such places as poor-houses, is sufficiently evident in theory, if it had not been too fully evinced by experience; but the cruelty of such institutions is equal to their folly, for where can any man be so comfortable, so independent, so easy, so free, and so happy, as in his own house? the meanest

cottage which a man can call his own, is preferable to the most splendid palace, where, instead of the consolation and attendance of their friends, the poor and aged are surrounded by sights of misery, and attended only by cruel and mercenary wretches, who are so familiar with sickness and poverty, as to have lost all feeling and compassion for distress. The tyranny and cruelty of overseers is often greater than that of the hired superintendants of a poor-house, and I doubt much cannot be said for their honesty; their ignorance is in general equal to all the rest of their faults, for they have frequently been known to refuse relief where they have been compelled to give it at last, and in many cases to have suffered the objects of their cruelty to die under the pain and fatigue of a removal, rather than risk a penny to save their lives. No man who has attended to the execution of the poor laws, and possesses any feelings either of humanity or justice will attempt to deny that they are inevitably the occasion of infinite iniquity, cruelty, and tyranny, and that even the most that can be done by wise and humane men, cannot remedy their radical defects; it is to be hoped, that in process of time, they will be entirely removed.

The only possible and practicable remedy for the evils attending a numerous population is the instruction of the poor in the principles of œconomy and moderation, virtues which require a severe discipline of the mind, but are the only means of avoiding the greater miseries arising from vice and dissipation.

NOTES

TO

MATERIALS FOR THINKING.

LIBERALITY OF SENTIMENT.

THE quotations contained in the following notes, are not cited from any vain parade of learning, but merely to prove facts, and confirm opinions, by the authority of those whom the world has hitherto considered as its teachers, and were not thought of till after the text was composed.

P. 1. "*It embellishes.*" Liberality of sentiment, is to our other virtues as a fine frame to a good picture. The best man in the world may be unamiable for want of it.

P. 1. "*The first teacher.*" Judge not, that ye be not judged," *Matt.* vii. *v.* 1. is an excellent lesson of liberality; and the 14th of the *Romans* is full of the same precepts.

P. 2. "*The liberality.*" "The philosopher of one country sees not an enemy in the philosopher of another. He takes his seat in the temple of science, and asks not who sits beside him."

Letter to the Abbe Raynal.

P. 2. "*The test of sincerity.*" Unhappily for this country, there was a time when the very name of liberality was odious to a certain party, who summoned all the worst passions of human nature to their defence, and, in the fervor of pretended alarm, called upon us to give up all the feelings of generosity, moderation, and forbearance, to further their traiterous designs upon the constitution. As a proof of that spirit of extermination which I have mentioned, I will quote a passage from a violent publication, called the *Anti Jacobin.*—"Let us hear no more of amiability and gentleness; of candor, liberality, and moderation; of conciliating, mild, and generous feelings. Such qualifications are now not virtues, but vices. They are, in short, but other names for pusillanimity and treachery."—The spirit of philosophy is directly the opposite of this; for Aristippus being asked what advantage he derived from it, answered, "*To be able to converse freely with all men.*"

Diog. Laert. p. 120, *vol.* i. *ed. Meib.*

P. 4. "*Automata.*"

"J' approuve cependant que chacun ait ses dieux,
Qu' il les serve a son mode et sans peur de la peine."

Polyeucte de Corneille, Act 5.

"Of all the tyrannies on human kind,
The worst is that which persecutes the mind;
Let us but weigh at what offence we strike,
'Tis but because we cannot think alike."

Dryden's Hind and Panther.

P. 6. "*Forbearance from injury.*" The same sentiment is to be found in Alfieri's tragedy of Polonice.

" E ver non l' amo
Che amar chi t' odia ell' e impossibil cosa,
Ma nuocergli non vo ."

Act. 2d. sc. 4.

P. 7. " *To insult.*" No species of illiberality is more common than to attribute difference of opinion, and eccentricity of conduct to a perversion of intellect.

P. 7. " *A godlike virtue.*"

" Illius vero Romanæ liberalitatis cælestem spiritum, nullæ literæ, satis dignis laudibus, prosequenter."

Val. Max. lib. 4, *c.* 8, *l.* 5.

P. 7. " *Without offence..*" " If he that pursues his pleasures or interests as much, or more than I do, and allows me to have as good sense as he has in all other matters, tells me that I should be of his opinion, but that passion or interest blinds me; unless he can convince me how or where this lies, he is but where he was, and only pretends to know me better than I do myself, who cannot imagine why I should not have as much care of my soul as he has of his."

Sir W. Temple on the United Provinces, c. 5.

To those of my readers who deny the the right of private judgment in the cencerns of religion, I recommend to read the whole of this admirable chapter.

P. 7. " *Liberality of sentiment.*" It was said of Menedemus, that he greatly admired Stilpo; being asked his opinion of him, he said nothing more than, " He is a liberal man."

Diog. Laert. 175.

P. 13. " *Adultery ceases.*" The law I. James 1st. c. 11.

which exempts from punishment all those who marry again after either party has been seven years out of the British dominions, ought to have gone further and allowed them to marry as if they had been divorced, for surely there can be no crime where the law affixes no punishment, but the old church doctrine says that marriage cannot be dissolved. Milton in his Tract on the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, is clearly of opinion, "That the party deserted is no longer bound, but may lawfully seek another consort, if need be, towards a pure and blameless conversation."

Vol. i. *p.* 405. *Fol. Edition.*

P. 14. "*Depreciate.*" "Necesse est enim, sibi nimium tribuat, qui se nemini comparat."

Quinct. de publicis scholis, ed Rollin.

The violence and illiberality with which even literary disputes were formerly conducted, may seem incredible to the present age; yet such was the overbearing insolence of some great literary characters towards their inferiors, that our language seemed too poor to afford them terms of sufficient contempt.—In the great controversy between Boyle and Bentley, about the stupid epistles of a detestable tyrant, we find perpetually the words "pride, insolence, ill-manners," &c. nay, in one place, Dr. Bentley tells us, that, "the gentleman has given a broad hint, that if I proceed further against Phalaris, I may draw upon myself a duel or a stab." The Doctor, however, was not inferior to him in hard words, for he calls his work "a calumny, detraction, injustice, forgery, slander, and vile aspersion;" and defends it too with these words of Terence:

" Si mihi pergit quæ vult dicere, ea quæ non vult audiet.
Andria. l. 927.

By a lamentable perversion of human labor and ingenuity, these Epistles have been re-published with learned notes by Lennep, the most acute of modern critics, and the whole controversy translated into Latin in a separate volume, quarto.

P. 14. " *Arrogant.*" The illiberality of Johnson was a disgrace to the age in which he lived, for it was not wholly his own, but derived its tincture, in some measure, from the persons around him. It was the effect of his education and the temper of the times; yet it was strengthened by the gloominess of his own disposition, and his propensity to tyrannize over others. He was in all respects, however, to whatever cause it was owing, the most illiberal man in his sentiments that any age can produce, considering his great literary attainments. His politics, his religion, his criticism, his conversation, and his conduct, were all illiberal. Tho' I by no means deny the great merits of Johnson as a moral instructor, I am not blind to his faults. Particular passages are too numerous to be cited, but I refer to his political pamphlets; to his Journey to the Hebrides, to his Lives of Milton, Gray, and Savage. In the latter, his vulgar ill-nature against players, corresponds with the rest of his sentiments on all subjects where he chose to express his dislike, and they are, in every respect, disgraceful to his temper and his morality. Boswell mentioned once having heard an eminent physician, who was himself a christian, argue in favor of universal toleration, and maintain, that no man

could be hurt by another's differing from him in opinion, to which Johnson replied (with the zeal of a bigot), "Sir, you are to a certain degree hurt, by knowing that even one man does not believe," (which means, as you believe), p. 285.—He told Mr Hoole that he wished to have a city club, and asked him to collect one; "but," said he, "don't let them be patriots," vol. ii. p. 380.—The instances I might select are innumerable, but perhaps these are sufficient.

P. 15. "*Illiberality.*" No man, in modern times, ever carried this tyranny to a greater length than the late Mr Pitt, for wherever he had the power to enforce obedience, he suffered no man to question or to oppose his opinions.

P. 19. "*A party man.*" The life of Erasmus was a continued struggle with priests and bigots, and his writings are the very essence of liberality, for though he lived and died in the catholic faith, he was a most candid interpreter of scripture, and of other men's sentiments, and considering the times in which he lived, he was so moderate in his opinions, as with some men to pass for an atheist. "Illud nobis videndum ne sic oderimus Lutherum ut illius odio perdamus ea quæ sunt optima." *Erasmi Epistolæ, p.* 776.—"Quæ vere docuit monuitque Lutherus sequamur, non quia ille monuit, sed quia recta sunt," *p.* 1192.

P. 21. "*Moderns.*" Boileau.

P. 23. "*Well intended.*"

"Modesti hominis est a quocunque libenter admoneri."

Erasmi Epistolæ, p. 1192.

P. 23. "*Forbear to think.*" The converse of this rule, I doubt, is best suited to the world. I wish to make the world better, but I am not blind to what it is, and has been.

P. 24. "*Kindnesses.*" "Fortasse pudoris est dissimulare per quos profeceris, sed tamen ingrati pudoris et illiberalis."

Erasmi Epistolæ, p. 113. *ed. fol.*

P. 24. "*Illiberal.*" "Qui invidet minor est."

Plin. Ep. lib. 6. 17.

P. 25. '*Noble minds.*" "La vraie noblese aime a se montrer partout et tout entiere; il n'y a que les ames basses ou fausses qui croient avoir besoin de se cacher."

Souvenirs de Thiebault. vol. 2. *p.* 319.

P. 26. "*Religious bigotry.*" "Measuring all reason by our own, is the commonest and the greatest weakness; it is an encroachment on the common rights of mankind."

Temple's Works, vol. iii. *p.* 525, *ed. oct.*

P. 27. "*Volumes of divinity.*' "Let it be early inculcated into both sexes, that men are not accountable for their opinions more than for their faces."

Kaimes's Hints on Education, p. 282.

ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸν μὲν εὖ παθόντα δεῖν μεμνῆσθαι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τὸν δ' εὖ ποιήσαντα εὐθὺς ἐπιλελῆσθαι αὐτῶν εἰ δεῖ τὸν μὲν χρηστὸν τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχου ποιεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου.

Demost. pro Corona. p. 316. *Ed. Reiskii.*

P. 28. "*Shipley.*" The works of this amiable prelate, whose life was a pattern of liberality in conduct and sentiment, deserve to be studied with attention from

beginning to end, but more particularly his celebrated speech in favor of protestant Dissenters, which breathes in every line the pure spirit of Christianity.—The following may serve as specimens :—" And yet, my lords, the most sacred truth I believe myself, I do not think I have any right to impose upon other men." *Shipley's Works, vol.* ii. *p.* 235.—" The question is not, whether they judge wrong? but whether, they are not to be tolerated, altho' they judge wrong?" *Ditto, p.* 237. " I am not afraid of those tender and scrupulous consciences who are over cautious of professing and believing too much; if they are sincerely in the wrong, I forgive their errors, and respect their integrity; the men I am afraid of, are, the men who believe every thing, subscribe to every thing, and vote for every thing." *Ditto, p.* 253.

P. 28. " *Lardner.*" The Letters of Dr Furneaux to Blackstone, contain many excellent arguments for toleration, and induced the judge to retract some of his high church notions, in his second edition.

P. 28. " *Lardner.*" Tho' the writings of these dissenting divines are, on the whole, liberal and candid, they are not entirely free from prejudice and bigotry.

P. 28. " *All religion consists in morality.*" That species of liberality which allows every man to think for himself, is now making great progress in the world, and it has met with many patrons among men of sense and learning; it has even found its way into Germany, where it is taught by such men as Wieland and Eichorn. The former has written an Essay on Liberty of Thinking in Matters of Belief, which is translated in that valuable

work, The Varieties of Literature; it contains, among many others, the following liberal sentiments: "We regard it as a duty of a superior class, to be complaisant to each other in a thousand nugatory matters, and in affairs that concern our conviction, our conscience, our peace of mind, and our integrity, we arrogate to ourselves a right to tyrannize over others."—"It is folly to resolve to explain inexplicable matters, and to demonstrate things incapable of demonstration; but it is both folly and arrogance, in such cases, to force one's own explication or demonstration on others, as truth."—"Happy is the country where illumination and liberty of belief go hand in hand, and where those who are placed as governors over the rest, are convinced that religion is an affair of the heart and not of the head, and that not an agreement in religious opinions, but active love towards mankind, must be the true point of union among Christians."—"How much soever these truths may lose by my manner of delivering them, they are too luminous not to enlighten every one who has eyes to see."—"It is a disgrace to human nature, that it should be requisite to be perpetually contesting for principles which are the palladium of humanity."

NOTES

To the Essay on Human Inconsistencies.

P. 29. "*The great.*" The brevity of ancient wisdom deserves to be contrasted with the prolixity of modern times. Their best authors are strong and pithy, and some of their sages have immortalized themselves by a single sentence. The two words quoted by Juvenal, from the aphorism by which Chilo is known to posterity. It was adopted from him, and inscribed in golden letters in the vestibule of the temple at Delphi, nor will it ever be forgotten while the world exists.—Johnson calls it an epitome of wisdom.

"Après s'etre convaincu de ces verités, on sent que le premier point de la morale, celui qui seroit le plus essentiel à la societè, celui qui rameneroit le calme parmi les hommes et qui leur prouveroit que le siecle d' or, peût encore renâitre, seroit de se connoitre soi même; que chacun ne pretendit pas avoir toute la raison de son cotè, afin que la recherche de la verite ne fut pas ce qui amene presque toujours la discorde sur la terre. L' instruction, l' etude de la nature, peuvent seules nous faire atteindre a ce degrè eminent."

Gretry Sur la Musique, vol. ii. *p.* 103.

"Les mêmes defauts qui dans les autres sont lourds & insupportables, sont chez nous comme dans leur centre, ils ne pesent plus, on ne les sent plus. Qui parle d' un autre

et en fait un portrait affreux qui, ne voit pas qu' il se peint lui meme."

Caracteres de La Bruyere, de Jugemens, vol. ii. *p.* 107.

P. 29. "*It is a great art.*" Socrates says, in Plato's Georgias, "I am one of those who have as much pleasure in being convinced as in convincing; for I think it the greatest good a man can obtain to be freed from error.

P. 30. "*Vanity.*" There is no character in history so strongly marked by the inconsistency which arises from vanity, as that of Cicero. He was alternately the flatterer of Pompey and Cæsar, of Antony and Octavius, and even courted the very men he professed to despise, but his splendid talents have in some measure blinded us to his faults. Demosthenes was little less inconsistent, but his inconsistency seems to have arisen from timidity and want of principle.

P. 31. "*The inconsistencies.*" The characters of modern times whom despotism rendered the most inconsistent, were Frederic the Great, and Catharine II. They were philosophers in their sentiments, and tyrants in their actions. Their ambition impelled them to sacrifice the lives of their fellow-creatures by unprovoked aggressions on the territory of their weaker rivals, while they were extending at home the boundaries of taste, science, and morality. The former in private life, was an example of moderation and simplicity, but the latter, by her insatiable lust, was a perpetual contrast to all that she wished others to become, under her instruction and government. She was a Messalina in her pleasures, and a Zenobia in her love of arts and literature. Frederic was a philosopher and a moralist, but he was a warrior,

and in the heat of conquest and revenge, he forgot all the duties he had enjoined to others in the calmer moments of reflection and study. In his Dialogue de Morale, which is an excellent epitome of our duties as men and as citizens, he says, "Cela n'est pas difficile. Je n' aurai qu' a parcourir tout ce qui me fait de la peine, et tout ce qui m' est agreable. Je serois faché qu' on m' enlevat mes possessions, donc je ne dois deposseder personne."—*Oeuvres Posthumes*, vol. xiii. p. 428. Si je les reprime, c'est pour mon propre avantage, pour maintenir les loix qui protegent les faibles contre les attentats du fort, pour soutenir ma reputation et pour ne point encourir les punitions que les loix infligent aux transgresseurs," p. 428. The contrast to this is to be found in Wraxall's Memoirs.—"Frederic's generals, more from necessity than inclination, were reduced to burn the suburbs in Dresden in 1758; but *he* directed his bombs against the finest public edifices during the siege of 1760.—Animated by personal resentment against Count Bruhl, first minister of Augustus, to whose councils he attributed the part taken by his master, the king descended to manifest his indignation against this nobleman in a manner unworthy of a great prince. He not only destroyed Count Bruhl's palaces, but even caused the pavilions and statues in his gardens to be defaced; a state in which many of them remain to this hour." To shew that the classical remark of "Ingenuas, *didicisse* fideliter artes," &c. is not always true, Mr Wraxall goes on to tell us, "that, during the winter of 1756, when Frederic occupied Dresden, he spent much of his time in the gallery of paintings constructed by Augustus the Third," vol. i. p. 273.—Dr Burney, in

his musical Tour, agrees with both these accounts. Yet, notwithstanding these painful exceptions, which serve to prove the weakness of our reason against the force of the passions, and to shew that men do not always act in conformity to their sentiments, religion can boast of her Gilpins, Latimers, Bulls, Taylors, and Hookers; and philosophy can name more than Hume, Helvetius, and D'Alembert, whose lives corresponded with the purity of their principles.

P. 32. "*Future punishment.*" To be more fully convinced of this shocking inconsistency, I refer my reader to the liberal, candid, and weighty "Reasons for Scepticism," by the amiable John Hollis, a man whose life is the best commentary on his opinions, and who practices as well as inculcates benevolence. Such men reconcile one to the species.

P. 33. "*Sword.*" Of all those who, with unholy pains, have attempted to reconcile the practice of war with the precepts of Christianity, no one has laboured more heartily, and more unsuccessfully than Dr Parr, in his Fast Sermon preached at Hatton, in Warwickshire.

P. 36. "*To amass wealth.*" The riches and temporal possessions of the clergy, since they were established, have given occasion to a modern historian to remark, "Chi dice Religione, dice Rhichezze." "Whoever speaks of religion, speaks of riches."

Giannone Istoria di Napoli, vol. 2. p. 563 ed. 4to.

P. 45. "*A fine lady.*"

"Now deep in Taylor and the Book of Martyrs,
Now drinking citron with his Grace and Chartres;

Now conscience cools her, and now passion burns,
And atheism and religion take their turns:
A very heathen in the carnal part,
Yet still a sad, good christian at the heart."

Pope's Essays, 2.

Boileau has marked the same inconsistencies in the characters of women; and I might multiply quotations, by applying to Juvenal and Young.

" Ainsi pleine d'erreurs, qu' elle croit legitimes,
Sa tranquille vertu conserve tous ses crimes,
Dans un cœur tous les jours nourri du sacrament,
Maintient la vanite, l' orgueil l' entêtement
Et croit devant Dieu ses frequens sacrileges
Sont pour entrer au ciel d' assurez privileges."

Satirès, x. v. 614.

P. 47. " *Wholly to.*" The conduct of the world will ever be found inconsistent with those precepts which command us to " love our enemies, to do good to them that hate us, and when we are beaten on one cheek, to offer the other;" for they are wholly incompatible with our nature; they may be followed by a few individuals, but they never can be generally observed. Socrates judged more wisely on this subject than Jesus Christ.—V. Plato's Georgias.—The inconsistency between the conduct and profession of christians has been admirably illustrated in Law's Serious Call—a book which displays a lively imagination, a sound judgment, and great knowledge of the world, and is only to be censured for its overstrained piety and impracticable devotion.

P. 48. " *The mysteries.*" That Bacon, Newton, and Locke, have written in defence of christianity, is no

proof that christianity is true, it only proves that the strongest minds cannot always overcome the force of early impressions.

P. 53. "*Integrity.*" Dr Dodd was a remarkable instance to the contrary, nor will it be difficult to produce many clergymen whose conduct and whose sermons are completely at variance. It is not to be wondered, that when religion is considered as a secular concern, its teachers should not always be circumspect in their lives. A man who is educated to be a lawyer, finds that his success in his profession depends on his knowledge, and his application of that knowledge to those who employ him; but a clergyman soon finds out that *his* success is independent of either, and that, if he is but tolerably correct in his conduct, his preferment will depend less on his merits, than his interest.

P. 54. "*The love of fame.*" See Young's Satires throughout, and Pope's Ruling Passion.

P. 55. "*Interest.*" The learned Chillingworth was a protestant, a catholic, and a protestant again, and the reward of his last conversion was a living and a prebend; yet his famous book, "The Religion of Protestants," was considered as an apology for his conduct; but this is not the only case where argument has been used as a cloak for interest.

Reynolds, in the time of Charles the 2d, from a dissenter became a churchman, and was immediately presented with a bishopric. Such conversion must be disinterested in the extreme!

NOTES

To the Essay on the Imagination.

P. 61. "*We derive the greatest pleasure.*" Les plaisires de l' imagination sont les seuls reels. Les bornes trop limiteès de la realitè ne nous laissent point le temps d'en jouir, celles de l' imagination prennent les mesures de nos desirs et he s' arretent qu' avec eux.

Gretry sur la Musique, vol. iii. *p.* 108.

P. 67. "*The researches.*" Tho' I cannot help allowing that they are sometimes trifling, I respect the voluminous labours of Mr Nichols, as affording a copious and rational source of amusement, but there is no book of antiquities which I have perused with so much delight as Milner's history of Winchester. The world is deeply indebted to Mr Britton, to Mr Carter, Mr Hawkins, and many others, for the pains they have taken to illustrate and preserve many valuable remains of antiquity.

P. 69. "*The imagination.*" Dreams are the distorted, but brightened reflections of past events or ideas.—The same sentiments I have lately found in Herodotus.—πιπλανησθαι αυται μαγιςα ἰωθασι, αἱ οψεις των ονειςατων, τα τις, ημιςης φροντιζει

Herod. 7. 16. *The Latin translation is faulty.*

P. 69. "*To imagination.*" L' imagination est mere des arts: ils sont rampans dans la speculation: mais tels que l' air subtil qui se degage de la terre, ils s'elancent

jusqu' aux cieux, lorsque avec sagesse on brise leurs entraves.

Gretry, p. 103.

P. 70. "*The creations.*" Whoever does not affect and move the same present passions in you that he represents in others, and at other times raise images about you as a conjuror is said to do spirits, transports you to the places and to the persons he describes, cannot be judged to be a poet, tho' his measures are never so just, or his sounds never so sweet.

Temple's Works, vol. iii. *p.* 406.

P. 71. "*The power.*" "I know very well that many, who pretend to be wise by the form of being grave, are apt to despise both poetry and music as toys and trifles too light for the use or entertainment of serious men.—But, whoever find themselves wholly insensible to these charms, would, I think, do well to keep their own counsel, for fear of reproaching their own temper, and bringing the goodness of their natures, if not of their understandings, into question: it may be thought at least an ill sign, if not an ill constitution, since some of our fathers went so far, as to esteem the love of music a sign of predestination, a thing divine, and reserved for the felicities of heaven itself. While this world lasts, I doubt not but the pleasure and request of these two entertainments will do so too; and happy they that content themselves with these, or any other so easy and so innocent, and do not trouble the world, or other men, because they cannot be quiet themselves, tho' nobody hurts them.

"When all is done, human life is, at the greatest and the best, but like a froward child, that must be played

with and humored a little to keep it quiet, till it falls asleep, and then the care is over."

Ditto, p. 429.

P. 76. "*Books of instruction.*" The principal end of poetry, and all books of imagination, is to instruct by giving pleasure. Homer is the first in the list, and Telemachus is not the last, yet Homer more artfully conceals his end than Fenelon. In the Iliad, the moral is in the story. Telamachus is a manual of morality, to which the story is subservient.

P. 79. "*Enlightened or improved.*" "Il n' est permis cependant qu' aux genies rares de nous faire aimer le beau ideal.——Etant persuades que ces beautés n' existent pas, nous desirons qu' elles existent. Nous soupirons en songeant que c'est de l' accord entre la verité et le mensonge que resulte le beau ideal."

Gretry, v. iii. *p.* 109.

NOTES

To the Essay on Characters.

P. 84. "*Yet in men more advanced in life.*" Disappointment often gives a misanthrophic turn to the character of those who were before the most cheerful and good tempered; even misanthropy has different shades, according to the difference of those on whom it operates. Shakespeare and Kotzebue have represented Timon, Jacques, and the Stranger, in very different lights. The one is savage, the other humorous, and the third tender. A sudden change of fortune has frequently caused the same in the character, and even the gradual acquisition of wealth will sometimes make a spendthrift avaricious.

P. 88. "*The insufficiency.*" The use and the pleasure of reading well-written lives is almost inconceivable, and yet how little of either is to be found in those now extant; it is hardly possible to select above one or two which convey a just idea of the persons represented; this may be proved by referring to the contradictory accounts which are given of those long since dead, and the inadequate ones of those now alive, or lately departed.—Among the many lives which have lately been published, that of Sir W. Jones, by Lord Teignmouth, is the most unsatisfactory; it is so barren of incident, so devoid of interest, and so poor in sentiment, the stile is so dull, and the matter so heavy, that it ill repays the time employed

in reading it. From the great literary reputation of Sir W. Jones, and his connection with literary men, it might have been expected that the history of his life would have been enlivened with many interesting anecdotes, and stored with much useful information; no such thing—except a few letters written by himself, and a few more by one or two eminent characters, there is nothing in the book which excites the smallest interest; the narrative is dry and barren; it neither throws any light upon his private life, nor public conduct; in short, it tells us nothing but what was before known by every one who had heard the name of Sir W. Jones; and the best of the letters might as well have been published alone. Let me here be permitted to add, that I have never held the character of Sir W. Jones in that very high estimation in which it is generally considered; he was certainly a man of uncommon attainments, and endowed by nature with a wonderful capacity for acquiring and retaining knowledge, but he was by no means a man of original genius, nor have his writings tended much to enlighten the world; he was not a man who ventured to think for himself, on any subject whatever; he followed the beaten track of knowledge, and possessed himself of much which others knew before him; his passion for oriental literature was singular, tho' not calculated to gain him many admirers with the multitude, for few can appreciate what only few understand; if he was considered as the greatest oriental scholar in England, it was because there were few others; but the road, tho' seldom trodden, was not a new road, nor wholly unknown to English and foreign literati. Sir W. Jones was a man of various and opposite acquire-

ments, and he had some little vanity in wishing to be thought what few literary men are ambitious of—a man of pleasure and a man of the world:—and he had sacrificed more freely, both to Venus and to Bacchus, than his biographer is willing to allow; his religious opinions were narrow, bigotted, and unworthy a man of exalted mind; in fact, he was not a great man; he was a good man, and a man of uncommon learning, and when we have said that, little more remains to be said of him; but if we believe the noble author of his life, he was a man possessed of every excellence, and without a single fault.

P. 92. "*Clarendon excels all historians.*" There is a sameness, however, in his manner of drawing characters, which makes him what is stiled in painting a mannerist.

P. 92. "*His Richard, &c.*" These three characters differ materially in this respect. The first represents the whole man, his general character through life, cunning, cruel, and ambitious. The other two are only shewn to us under the influence of particular passions—the one ambition, the other jealousy. The progress of these passions is accurately marked, from the first slight spark, to their full blaze.

P. 95. "*Decided at length for the Athenians.*" See Gillies, vol. iii. Xenoph. Hist. lib. i. chap. 5, 6.

P. 95. "*In the lower.*" Mr Owen in his very excellent Essays on the Human Character, seems to mistake character for morals and habits. The former depends on circumstances which no human wisdom can control, the latter depend altogether on instruction and education.

P. 104. "*Bribed.*" A singular story is told of his

temperance and frugality. It has also been said of Shippen, but was not true of both. The story, V. *Life of Marvel, vol.* iii. *of his works, p.* 463., reminds me of a a beautiful Greek Epigram, which contains a similar idea :—

οὐδὲ παρ' ὀφρυσι
Στησομαι οὐδ' ὀλίγης δαιτος ἐλευθέιην
Anthologia, Ed. Bosch. vol. i. *p.* 48.

P. 105. "*Except one.*" It cannot here be doubted that I mean the administration of Pitt, to which that of Walpole was innocence and purity. It is to this man's violent opposition to the French Revolution, that we owe all the calamities it has occasioned.

P. 106. "*Advocate of liberty.*" It is a singular fact, and serves to shew how little trust is to be given to party distinctions, that we are indebted to the Tories for many patriotic speeches and measures, and that the most severe deprivations of our liberty and property have originated with the Whigs.

P. 107. "*Income.*" He was married to a woman of immense fortune, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Sir Richard Stote, of Stote's House, in the county of Northumberland. He had a hired house at Richmond, but frequently spent the summer in the North among his wife's relations; and the old family mansion, in the vicinity of Newcastle, which was so often honored with his presence, is yet in existence, tho' in the possession of strangers. The three daughters of Sir Richard Stote, Tong, Shippen, and Windsor, all dying without issue or heirs, their estates became the property of the first occupant, and are now in the hands of various possessors;

but the name of Shippen has added an interest to the family, which they could otherwise never have excited. The residence of Shippen, in the winter, was in Norfolk-street in the Strand, and was the rendezvous of men of rank, learning, and talents, who were drawn thither by the attraction of his cheerful society.—He lived and died a rare example of virtue in degenerate times.

P. 108. "*Their leader.*" The same spirit which animated the resistance to Charles V. burst out afresh in opposition to Bonaparte, and I have the happiness to number among the list of my friends, the man who first took up arms in the province of the Austurias. Don Alvaro Florez Estrada, for two years opposed the power of the French, till the government he formed was dissolved by the Marquis de Romana. Should this virtuous man ever publish his history of the Revolution in that province, it will explain the secret causes of all its movements.

V. El Espagnol, Tomo 2do. p. 129.

P. 108. "*Robertson.*" Vide Robertson's Charles 5th, vol. iii. p. 25.

P. 108. "*His letter to his wife, &c.*"

LETTER OF DON JOHN DE PADILLA.

"SENORA,

"If your grief did not afflict me more than my own death, I should be thoroughly happy; for the end of life being certain to all men, the Almighty confers a mark of distinguishing favor on that person for whom he appoints

a death like mine, which, tho' lamented by many, is nevertheless acceptable to Him. It will require more time than I now have, to write any thing that could afford you consolation; that my enemies will not grant me, nor do I wish to delay the reception of that crown which I hope to enjoy. You may bewail your own loss, but not my death, which is too honorable to be lamented by any. My *soul*, for nothing else is left me, I bequeath to you. You will receive it as the thing in this world which you valued most. I do not write to my father, Pedro Lopez, because I dare not; for tho' I have shewn myself to be his son, in daring to lose my life, I have not been the heir of his good fortune. I will not attempt to say any thing more, that I may not tire the executioner, who waits for me; and that I may not excite a suspicion, that, to prolong my life, I lengthen out my letter. My servant Josia, an eye-witness, and to whom I have communicated my most secret thoughts, will inform you of what I cannot now write; and thus I rest, expecting the instrument of your grief, and my deliverance."

P. 108. "*And another to the city of Toledo, &c.*"

HIS LETTER TO THE CITY OF TOLEDO.

"To thee, the crown of Spain and the light of the whole world; free, from the time of the mighty Goths; to thee, who by shedding the blood of strangers, as well as thy own blood, hast recovered liberty for thyself and thy neighbouring cities: thy legitimate son, John de Padilla, gives information how by the blood of his body thy ancient victims are to be refreshed. If fate hath not

permitted my actions to be placed among your successful and celebrated exploits, my fault hath been in my ill-fortune, not in my good will. This I request of thee as a mother to accept, since God hath given me nothing more to lose for thy sake, than that which I am now to relinquish. I am more solicitous about thy good opinion than about my own life. The shiftings of fortune, which never stand still, are many, but this I see with infinite consolation, that I, the least of thy sons, suffer death for thee, and that thou hast nursed at thy breast such as may take vengeance for my wrongs. Many tongues will relate the manner of my death, of which I am yet ignorant, tho' I know it to be near. My end will testify what was my desire. My soul I recommend to thee, as the patroness of Christianity. Of my body I say nothing, for it is not mine. I can write nothing more, for at this very moment I feel the knife at my throat, with greater dread of thy displeasure, than apprehension of my own pain.

Robertson's Hist. vol. ii. *p.* 233.

P. 109. "*Resumed the game.*" His words were, "I cannot now in my old age abandon the principles for which I early contended, nor to procure freedom for a few declining years, will I betray that good cause for which I have suffered so much, and am still willing to suffer; better for me to enjoy in this solitude the esteem of virtuous men, and the approbation of my own conscience, than return into the world with the imputation of apostacy, and thus disgrace my few remaining years."

Vide Modern Europe, vol. ii. *p.* 217.

P. 110. "*Whether he afterwards obtained, &c.*" Ro-

bertson tells us, that John Frederic, after the peace of Passau, took possession of that part of his territories which had been reserved for him, when Maurice was invested with the electoral dignity. *Vide Charles 5th, vol.* iv. *p.* 92.—The author of modern Europe says, that after the death of Maurice, he claimed the electoral dignity, and that part of his dominions of which he had been stripped, but the states of Saxony, forgetting the sufferings of their former master, declared in favor of Augustus, and that John Frederic died soon after this disappointment, which he bore with his usual magnanimity.

Vol. ii. *p.* 286.

P. 111. "*Was Cleon.*" Vide Gillies' Ancient Greece, vol. ii. p. 244, and Thucydides, lib. iii. s. 36.

P. 111. "*The Athenians.*" A similar deliberation took place at Syracuse, after the Athenians were defeated in their Sicilian expedition, and the arguments of the speakers contain all that can be said on the opposite sides of policy and humanity.

P. 112. "*Aristophanes.*" It is remarkable that the ridicule of Aristophanes destroyed the best and the worst man that Athens ever produced. Ridicule is a two-edged sword.

P. 113. "*The French Revolution.*" The authorities from whom I have derived my account of the French characters, are too numerous to be all recited. Suffice it to say, that I am indebted mostly to Bertrand's History of the Revolution, in 10 vols.; to Riouffe's Memoirs d' un Detenu, to Louvet's Recit de mes Perils, to Garat's Memoirs; to Dictionaire Biographique, to the new edition of Roland, by Champagneux, to Letters from Paris,

to Adolphus's Memoirs, and to Mercier's Tableau de Paris; from all of which I intend occasionally to make quotations of those parts which are most interesting and important. To some it may seem improper, that I have placed Mirabeau among the number of good characters. Tho' he was profligate in his manners and principles, yet, as he took the popular side of the question, and acted always apparently in defence of liberty, it is impossible to place him among the Robespierres, Dantons, and Barreres.

The first of his public actions was a strong proof of his influence. By his simple insinuation that it came from the Court, he was the means of getting a motion of Malouet rejected, which pledged the nation to preserve inviolate the privileges of the nobility and clergy. Malouet relates an anecdote, by which he means to insinuate that this opposition was the effect of disappointment; for having given an offer of his services to Necker, he was rejected, and from that instant vowed revenge.—"Je n' y reviendrai plus, mais ils auront des mes nouvelles."—"I will not return again, but they shall hear of me."—M. Bertrand de Molleville has endeavored to deprive Mirabeau of the credit of his eloquence, by affirming that most of his speeches were composed by other people. It may be so with his studied harangues, but those sudden bursts of eloquence which produced the greatest effect, must have been unpremeditated, because they were adapted to the occasion of the moment, and it is these which place his talents above all competition and praise. The first of these was pronounced in answer to the commands of the king, for each of the differ-

ent states to meet in their own chambers. They were about to depart peaceably, when Mirabeau, foreseeing that all was lost for the popular party if this measure was adopted, arrested them in a moment by the grasp of his eloquence, and compelled them to remain in their places. "Il fit malhereusement changer, en un instant, leurs dispositions par le discours suivant," says Bertrand de Molleville.—This was not all, when the king sent his master of the ceremonies to command them to depart, Mirabeau, by another thunder-stroke, confounded the minions of the court, and fixed the resolution of the whole meeting. "We were sent here by the power of the people, and nothing shall remove us but the power of the sword," exclaimed the patriot.—In every motion and every speech he addressed to the legislative council he was successful, except when he began, in the latter part of his life, to lean towards the court. It is needless to enumerate many instances. Whoever wishes to be fully convinced of his transcendant talents, must consult Bertrand's History of the Revolution, who, tho' he does not allow all his merits, cannot weaken the facts which he himself relates.

Mirabeau first shook the foundation of the throne, which others afterwards overturned. Whether such was his intention or not there can be no certainty; most probably it was not, but by the firmness, vigor, and decision, with which he inspired the national council, the court was confounded, and compelled to abandon some of its strongest measures.—The last act of weakness they committed, was that of dismissing the troops from Paris:—The firmness of the deputies, which the eloquence of Mirabeau supported, disconcerted the court, and forced

them to sign their own death warrant. The words of Mirabeau to the deputies, who were just quitting the council with an address to the king, rival, in force and grandeur, the finest specimens of Demosthenes :—"Tell him that the foreign hordes by whom the city is invested, were yesterday visited by princes, princesses, and favorites, and received their caresses, their exhortations, and their prayers; tell him that all the night long the satellites of despotism, gorged with gold and wine, chanted in their impious songs the slavery of France, and that their savage wishes invoked the destruction of the national council; tell him that even in his palace, his courtiers danced to the sound of this barbarous music, and that such was the prelude to the murders of St Bartholomew; tell him that that Henry whose memory is revered by the universe, he of all his ancestors whom he wishes to take for his model, sent provisions into the very city which had revolted against him, and now *his* ferocious ministers are stopping the supplies of grain which the natural effects of commerce are sending to the faithful, but famished capital."—*Bertrand, vol. ii.*

On another occasion, the generosity and dignity of Mirabeau's character were finely contrasted with the meanness of Robespierre's. Several deputies having proposed that all letters suspected of containing plots against liberty should be opened, Mirabeau spoke, says Bertrand, with that incensed and imperious tone for which he was so remarkable, and imposed silence on all his opponents by the most animated speech he ever pronounced, which determined the council to reject the motion. It was, however, brought forward again, and supported by Robes-

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pierre, but again repelled.—*Vide Bertrand, vol.* ii. *p.* 97. —The nobleness of Mirabeau's nature was displayed still further in the support he gave to the proposal of Necker for a new system of taxation, to prevent the horrors of bankruptcy. His personal dislike to the minister caused his sincerity to be doubted, and he explained himself in one of those sudden bursts of eloquence in which no man ever excelled him.—*Vide p.* 168.

P. 119. "*A good writer.*" Champagneux, in the introduction to his edition of Roland's life and writings, tells us, that at her instigation he composed, during his imprisonment, a Political Testament, which those who saw it consider as superior to any of his former writings. "Experience (says Champagneux), had tempered the fire of his imagination, but it had strengthened his reason and judgment. He there painted the situation of France in colours so lively and so true; he had so forcibly torn the mask from the tyrants that oppressed her, that the destruction of their power must have been the infallible consequence of its publication. The book had already quitted the barriers of the prison, and was printed, when Robespierre, informed of it, condemned the whole, and even the MS. to the flames. Yet I have heard it said that one copy was saved, and is now in the hands of Citizen R. and that it soon will be published. For the truth of this I will not answer." It is ardently to be wished that it may still exist.

P. 121. "*To relate the bloody consequences.*" Among the victims of the tyrants, the female sex have been particularly distinguished for their admirable firmness in death. The general who commanded at Longwy, on its

surrender to the Prussians, was condemned to die. His wife, a beautiful young woman of four-and-twenty, when she heard the sentence pronounced, cried out, in a tone of despair, "*Vive le Roi!*" She was immediately sent to the scaffold. Her husband, surprized at seeing her led towards the cart, for a few moments could hardly speak, and the people, shocked at the sight, cried out, "She did not deserve death." "Yes, my friends," she cried with the spirit of a heroine, "for I will not survive my husband." Fourteen young girls of Verdun had danced at a ball given by the Prussians; they were led to the scaffold together, and looked like nymphs adorned for a festival. The daughter of the famous Malesherbes, with his son-in-law, grand-son, and grand-daughter, were condemned to die together, and suffered with equal and incredible fortitude.—The Marchioness of Bois Berenger was the only one of her family not named in an act of accusation. She was overwhelmed with despair; but in a few hours the act arrived, a ray of transport darted into her countenance, and she exclaimed, "We shall now die together."

P. 121. "*To relate.*" The period of the French Revolution to which I now refer, resembles in many respects the state of Athens under the thirty tyrants—for an account of which see Xenophon's History, and the celebrated orations of Lysias against Eratosthenes and Agoratus.

P. 128. "*The recital.*" Recit de mes perils.—*Par Louvet.*

P. 129. "*Girey Dupre.*" On his way to the scaffold, he saw Robespierre's mistress, with her sister, and some of their ferocious accomplices at the window of their

lodging. "Down with the tyrants and dictators," he exclaimed, till he lost sight of the house. The rest of the way he sung the chorus to the patriotic air which he himself had written, *Plutot la mort que l' esclavage.* "Rather death than slavery." The beloved sentiment he repeated to his last moment, and the half-finished sentence perished on his lips." P. 222.

Vide Letters from Paris, 1794, *vol.* i.

P. 136. "*In attention to her daughter.*" No mother ever did more for a daughter than she did for hers. During the third month of her nursing, she was attacked with a violent disease, which obliged her to wean the infant, but growing better, and thinking that she had not done her duty, she determined to finish what was begun, and actually undertook to bring the milk back again into her breasts; which, after excruciating pain, and with the most inflexible perseverance, she succeeded in doing. Few women would have thought of such a thing, and much fewer attempted it. She has herself related the process in a little treatise which she addressed to her daughter on nursing, in case she should ever become a mother; that daughter is now married to the son of Champagneux, who published the works of her mother.

P. 136. "*The same exact disposition, &c.*" La vue d' une fleur caresse mon imagination et flatte mes sens, a un point inexprimable. Sous le tranquille abri du toit paternelle, j' etois heureuse des l' enfance avec des fleurs & des livres; dans l' etroite enceinte d' une prison au milieu des fers imposès par la tyrannie le plus revoltante, j'oublie l' injustice des hommes, leurs sottises et mes maux, avec des libres & des fleurs.

Memoirs de Roland.

P. 137. "*On the scaffold.*" Riouffe, in his Memoirs d' un detenu, has given the most interesting account of her sufferings and execution, which others have only copied. She was removed from the prison of St Pelagie to that of the Conciergerie, eight days before her trial, where he saw her, and has thus described her :—"She was tall, and elegantly formed, with a lively countenance, tho' somewhat altered by her misfortunes and imprisonment; her eyes were large, black, and expressive, and her manners had all the polish of a court. She spoke to me frequently through the grate of her chamber with the freedom and spirit of one of the greatest men. This republican language, coming from the mouth of a woman who was at that moment devoted to sacrifice, was one of the miracles of the revolution to which we were not yet accustomed. Every one listened to her with profound attention and surprise. Her conversation was serious without being cold. She expressed herself with a degree of purity and harmony, which rendered her language a species of music with which the ear could never be satisfied. She spoke of her friends who had suffered, with respect, unmingled with effeminate pity; nay, she even reproached them for not having adopted sufficiently strong measures; sometimes, indeed, the tenderness of her sex prevailed, and she was seen to weep at the thoughts of her husband and daughter. The woman who attended her told me, "Before you, she collects all her force, but when alone, she sometimes remains for hours together leaning upon the window, and in tears." To die first, when a number were sent to the scaffold together, was considered as a privilege, and had

been allowed to her as a woman; she saw, however, many others less firm than herself, and she waved that privilege in their favor, but the executioner refused to comply, on which she turned to him with a smile of ineffable sweetness, and said, "I am sure you will not refuse the last request of a woman."—He complied, and Lamarche, one of her fellow-sufferers, was executed first. Being tied to the fatal plank, she lifted up her eyes towards the statue of Liberty, which was placed near the guillotine, and exclaimed, "O, Liberty, how art thou insulted." The next moment she perished—but her name will live for ever in the remembrance of a grateful posterity.

Sillery and La Source were imprisoned in the palace of Luxemburg at the same time with the authoress of the Letters from Paris, and she has eloquently described their conversation and feelings. "He and La Source (she says), composed together a little hymn, adapted to a sweet and solemn air, which they called their evening service. Every night before we parted, they sung this simple dirge in a low tone, to prevent their being heard in the other apartments, which rendered it still more plaintive. These mournful sounds, the knell of my departed friends, yet thrill upon my heart."

P. 140. "*He courted the multitude.*" On Friday the 10th of May, he pronounced the famous speech which raised his popularity to its height. The people believed all he said, and, if he had meant what he professed, they might have been happy. Speaking in terms of reprobation of their former government, he says, "They have kings, and priests, and nobles,

and burgeois, and canaille, but no such thing as people, no such thing as men."—"Establish this incontestible maxim, that the people are good, and their delegate corruptible." "The corruption of a government has its source in the excess of its power, and its independence on its true sovereign, the people."—"There is but one tribune of the people I love, and that is the people themselves."—Let all the proceedings of the representative body be transacted under the eyes of thousands of their constituents.—His speeches and reports, which are all excellent, were said to be written by La Clos, well known by his share in the Orleans' party, and for his infamous novel, *Liaisons Dangereuses*.—This is one, among many other proofs, of the means by which he gained an ascendancy over the people, and finally obtained his purpose.

P. 140. "*The simplicity of his manners.*" At his first appearance in the world, he obtained a few partizans, who were called the chasseurs of Robespierre. They constantly proclaimed his praises in public and in private, and helped forward his rising reputation by every means in their power. On the last day of the Constituent Assembly, they prepared a hackney coach for him and Petion, who was at that time his friend. They took out the horses, drew it themselves, and crowned their hero with leaves of oak. Among the chiefs of this band was the family of one Dupleix, a cabinet-maker; himself, his wife, his son, and his two daughters. He seemed to have introduced a new sort of religion, of which they were the preachers, and in different parts of the city they harangued the mob, on the merits of the sect and its leader. He at last became for a while a resident in their

house, and one of the daughters was his mistress. He exercised the same tyranny over the rest of the family which the women did over him. In the early part of his career, he lodged at the house of a washer-woman, in a miserable room, furnished with old ragged hangings, an old broken glass, a few broken chairs, and a table.

Vide Tableau d l' Europe par Peltier, vol. i.

P. 142. "*Republic of Jack Cade.*" Vide Henry VI. part 2d.

P. 142. "*To love, &c.*" His own brother was never beloved by him; and his sister, when she came to Paris on purpose to remonstrate with him on his cruelty, he repulsed with the most inhuman violence. He said, on the denunciation of Danton, "I was the friend of Petion, of Roland, and of Brissot; they conspired against liberty, and I declared against them. Danton wishes to take their place, and I see in Danton only the enemy of his country." Plutarch relates nearly the same circumstance of Cleon.—Πολιτίκα Παραγγέλματα. cap. 13.

The day on which he arrested his old friend Camille Desmoulins, he invited him to dinner, and, at parting, still professed for him the highest regard.

P. 142. "*Those who had been his tools, &c.*" Among these the first were Freron and Tallien, men covered with blood and crimes.

P. 143. "*He converted the nation, &c.*" "All Frenchmen are soldiers. Private property must be employed to public use. Enjoyments are no longer individual, they are converted into a public mass."—"Placed in the midst of Europe, under the most serene atmosphere, and on a territory the most fertile; possessing men the most in-

dustrious, and surrounded by limits formed by the protecting hand of nature; too powerful to fear, too great to wish for any thing but a pure representation and a vigorous government. Such a government, with cannon, bayonets, and powder, are your only wants."

Vide Debretts State Papers, vol. i. *p.* 53.

P. 143. "*Infamy.*" The best account which is extant of the views and sentiments of Robespierre, was published by a young man of the name of Vilate, who had come to Paris early in the revolution, to partake in the triumphs of liberty. He was one of the dupes of Robespierre, and was so far led astray, as to believe that the cause of liberty could be advanced by murder and proscription, and became one of the revolutionary tribunal. He soon repented of his errors, and after the death of the tyrant, published his *Causes Secretes de la Revolution du* 9 *and* 10 *Thermidor*. The object of Robespierre and his crew, it is to be gathered from this book, was to cut off every man or woman who could in any shape oppose their Agrarian system. The whole of society was to be constituted upon a new model, and all who had possessed distinctions of any sort under the former state of things were to be massacred. Such an idea, perhaps, never entered into the head of any human being before, and it is to be hoped it never will again, if he has any power to act upon it. It is mischievous in every possible light, for besides the misery it created for the time, it has retarded the progress of liberty in France, for many, many years, and rendered her very name odious to the rest of the civilized globe.

P. 146. "*Seemed to sigh, &c.*" Danton, in his last

moments, while in the dungeon of the Conciergerie, lamented the part he had taken in the revolution, and expressed a wish that he had never quitted his residence at D'Arcy, to mix in the tumult and confusion of the world. He spoke of it with the greatest contempt; yet it was not that philosophic contempt which is mingled with pity and benevolence, but the mere effusion of disappointment.—Such confessions are the nauseous fruits of revolutions, in which, as Danton said, "the greatest rascals are always uppermost."—"It is better to be a poor fisherman," he exclaimed, "than to govern men." "The fools," said he, "will cry, 'Long live the republic,' on seeing me go to the scaffold."—He died with the same bold and dauntless spirit with which he had lived.

P. 146. "*Punished.*" A few days before his arrest, Danton, by means of a common friend, obtained an interview with the tyrant; after a long conversation, finding that he was unable to save himself, he exclaimed, on leaving the room, "I perceive that my lot is decided; but my fall will hasten yours." A little before he went to the scaffold, he said to those who were present, "This day last year I caused the Revolutionary Tribunal to be instituted. I ask pardon for it, of God and man! It was not that it should become the scourge of humanity, but to prevent the renewal of the massacres of the 1st and 2d of September."

P. 146. "*His former guilt.*" The sublime reply of Danton, on his trial, when he was asked his name and residence, deserves to be remembered: "My residence," said he "will soon be in non-entity, but my name will live in the Pantheon of history."

P. 146. "*A royalist writer.*" M. Montjoye, who has written the History of the Orleans' Conspiracy, and the Panegyric of Louis XVI.

P. 147. "*Infamous ancestor.*" For an account of the Regent Duke of Orleans, see Œuvres Posthumes de Marmontel; Memoires de Richelieu; and Vie Privée de Louis XV.

P. 147. "*His royal relations.*" "I am persuaded," says the editor of his correspondence, "that his desire of vengeance, for the insults offered him by the queen, was the principal motive of his actions."

P. 148. "*Mont Rouge.*" Vide Bertrand de Molleville, vol. 2d, p. 13.

P. 149. "*The money of Orleans.*" There can be little doubt of this, after the publication of the Proceedings of the Chatalet.

P. 150. "*The natural daughter.*" The interesting narrative of this lady was published by herself in 1798, and contains a series of adventures almost romantic.—Many have doubted her pretensions to be the duughter of the Prince of Conti; but Mercier, in his last Picture of Paris, speaks of her as such, and says, "Stephanie Louise de Bourbon Conti, the pupil of Rousseau, whose principles she seems to have followed, advertises, that till the fate of the Bourbons is fixed, she gives lessons to young ladies in writing, in orthography, mathematics, drawing, and morality, with some knowledge of logic, geography, mythology, &c." *Mercier, vol. 5.*

P. 152. "*That famous palace.*" "It was frequently affirmed," says the editor of the Correspondence, "that Orleans was so much in debt, that he had sold almost every

thing, even to his linen. After his death, I visited every part of his house very minutely. His linen was not only entire, but laid up with great exactness in a room on purpose. There were also a great many curiosities of different sorts, and a large collection of medals, many of them gold, and of a great size; and many little articles of furniture, adorned with the same metal. In the wardrobe was an immense quantity of shoe buckles, sufficient to set up a jeweller's shop; and a great number of canes, pipes, and pocket-books, of all shapes and sizes, arranged with the greatest regularity; the canes in racks, the pipes in boxes, and the pocket-books in drawers. One apartment seemed to be destined to the sacrifices of love, for the walls were covered with a kind of moving pictures, which, by means of a spring, could be turned to represent every species of obscenity. His bed-chamber shewed how much he had sacrificed to Bacchus. The curtains and sopha were covered with the effects of a recent debauch; in short, from all that I saw, I am satisfied that Priapus and Bacchus had not a more fervent admirer." *Vide Preface.*

P. 152. "*Trimalchio.*" Vide Petronius Arbiter.

P. 152. "*Monks of Medmenham.*" Vide Adventures of a Guinea, by Charles Johnson, where the account of that famous fraternity is not altogether correctly given.

P. 152. "*The strongest evidence.*" By the editor of the Correspondence, and by all the newspapers then published.

NOTES

To the Essay on Feelings.

In describing the operations of the mind, the greatest accuracy of ideas and language is required; without the first, we are confused ourselves; without the latter, we must confuse our readers; and yet even the first rate philosophers have confounded three things which are in their nature totally distinct, viz. feelings, passions, and sentiments. The two first are the most nearly allied, and are therefore frequently mistaken for each other. Passions are only feelings in excess, but sentiments are the result of deliberate reflection. Sorrow is a feeling, but grief is a passion; resentment ripens into revenge, dislike becomes hatred, preference rises into love, and emulation begets envy, malice, and jealousy.—Dr. Adam Smith, in the first page of his Theory of Moral Sentiments, has fallen into a wonderful error in expressing himself on the nature of pity or compassion. "How selfish soever," says he, "man may be supposed, there is evidently some *principles* in his nature which interest him in the fortune of others, and render their happiness necessary to him, tho' he derives nothing from it, except the pleasure of seeing it. Of this kind is *pity* or *compassion;* the *emotion* which we feel for the misery of others, when we either see it, or conceive it in a very lively manner. That we often derive sorrow from the sorrow of

others, is a matter of fact too obvious to require any instances to prove it; for this *sentiment*, like all the other original *passions* of human nature, is by no means limited to the virtuous and humane, tho' perhaps they may feel it with the most exquisite *sensibility*."—Now here are four things confounded together, which are all essentially different. Pity is not a principle, but a feeling, for principles are the effect of deliberate judgment, and feelings are the sudden result of perceptions. He was right in calling pity an emotion, for emotion and feeling are nearly synonimous terms; but he is wrong again in calling it a sentiment, and more so in calling it a passion, for the reasons above mentioned.—When such men as Adam Smith are deceived by popular language, it is not to be wondered that the vulgar do not always express themselves accurately.

David Hume, who was not a man of sensibility or feeling, has an essay on Delicacy of Taste and Passion. The title of the essay is faulty, therefore we are not to expect much from the contents. It is, indeed, a subject on which, of all others, he was least qualified to write, because he was required to express those feelings which he did not possess. "Some people," says he, "are subject to a certain delicacy of passion." The word *subject* is most unhappily chosen, for it rather gives us the idea of a disease than a disposition; and such, indeed, he considered it, for, a little after, he says that "men of cool and sedate tempers are more to be envied than those who possess lively sensibility." He calls joy and resentment *passions*, whereas they are only feelings. "Delicacy of passion" we should

certainly read "Delicacy of feeling," for none of the passions are very gentle or delicate; tho' he afterwards confesses that this delicacy of *passion* enlarges the sphere of our happiness or misery, and makes us sensible to pains, as well as pleasures, which never touch the rest of mankind; and yet he says again, that this delicacy of passion is to be lamented, and remedied if possible.—He then proposes delicacy of taste as a cure for delicacy of passion; but he corrects himself, and says, "it rather improves our *sensibility* for all the tender and agreeable *passions*," which is downright nonsense. "Susceptibility" might have answered the purpose, for *passions* we should read *emotions*, and for *emotions* we should substitute the word *passions*, when he says, that, "delicacy of taste renders the mind incapable of the rougher and more boisterous *emotions*." How delicacy of taste or sentiment are compatible "with the gaiety or frolic of a bottle companion," Mr Hume probably well understood, but they are not generally found together. Sentiments, feelings, and passions, are all different movements of the mind, which are frequently confounded by inaccurate writers. An attention to this distinction, will induce an accuracy of thinking and language which is of infinite importance to the happiness of society; for nothing has caused so much confusion, as calling things by wrong names.

P. 159. "*Rough language*,"

"Lacrymas dedit hœc nostri pars optima sensus."

Juvenal, sat. xvi. *v.* 133.

P. 166. "*Refuse like the poet*."

Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modis

Tam chari capitis?

Horace, Od. lib. i. 24.

P. 172. "*Old women.*" The hapless fate of these poor women is pathetically lamented by our modern Theocritus, Allan Ramsay, whose Doric dialect unfortunately conceals many of his beauties.

Mause.—Hard luck alack when poverty and eild,
Weeds out o' fashion, and a lonely bield,
Wie a sma' cast o' wiles, should in a twitch
Gie ane the hatefu' name, "A wrinkled witch."

Vide Gentle Shepherd, Act 2d, sc. 3d.

P. 174. "*In a well regulated country.*" Colonel Symes, in his interesting account of the embassy to Ava, tells us, that in the Birmin nation "a common beggar is no where to be seen; every individual is certain of receiving sustenance, which, if he cannot procure by his own labor, is provided for him by others."

Vol. ii. *p.* 389.

P. 175. "*Instances, &c.*" Tacitus, in the 13th book of his Annals, gives a remarkable instance of the effects of timely severity, in restoring the discipline of an army. Corbulo had been sent to take the command of troops who had grown indolent by a long peace and continued residence in the enervating country of Syria. "Nec enim ut in aliis exercitibus, primum alterumque delictum venia prosequebatur; sed qui signa reliquerat statim capite pœnas luebat, idque usu salubre et misericordiâ melius apparuit. Quippe pauciores illa castra deseruere quam ea in quibus ignoscebatur."

Cap. 35.

P. 180. "*Public sensations.*" I remember some years

ago, when a great flood threatened to destroy half the property of a fen country, the people of a certain village stood in crowds upon their banks, with anxious expectation, to watch the course of the water, and when they found it was taking an opposite direction to theirs, and destroying the dykes of another village, they set up a shout of joy, rang the bells of the church, and had their houses illuminated. The story was related in the papers, and they were stigmatized as savages; yet they were not more savages than those who rejoice at a victory, in which thousands of innocent men lose their lives.

The world, perhaps, never produced an occasion on which public demonstrations of joy and sensibility were more generally, more properly, or more temperately expressed, than at the conclusion of that peace by which the Americans established their independence. The overflowings of gratitude to their great deliverer, Washington, were unbounded, yet unalloyed by a single instance of excess or intemperance; all ranks and ages joined in the general exultation, and tears of sensibility flowed from the eyes of thousands, as an involuntary tribute of their feelings. When the general accepted the office of President, the same scene was renewed, and the historian tells us, that, on his landing at New York, "universal joy diffused itself through every rank of people;" but when he took the oath of office in the presence of the multitude, he says, "a solemn silence prevailed among the spectators at this part of the ceremony; it was a minute of the most sublime political joy." For the whole account, I refer to Ramsay's History of the American Revolution, in 2 vols. 8vo. the best which has yet been published.

P. 182. "*Drunkenness.*" V. Goldsmith's Traveller, where he has expressed nearly the same idea.

"In wild excess the vulgar breast takes fire,
'Till buried in debauch the bliss expire."

P. 194. "*Past delights.*" The Swiss, the Welsh, and all nations, whose pleasures are few and simple, are remarkable for attachment to their country. "Experience has proved, that the northern are, of all nations, the most attached to their country, and of all northern nations, the barbarous people of Lapland and the northern parts of Siberia feel this *amor patriæ* the strongest. They cannot exist out of their native desarts. Every individual among them who had been brought away by the Danish, Swedish, or Russian governments actually died of grief! The most gentle treatment, the most flattering distinctions, seemed to have no other effect, than to raise in their minds a sad contrast between luxury and politeness on the one hand, and rough, innocent homeliness on the other."

Vide Swinton's Travels in Russia, vol. i. *p.* 493.

P. 195. "*Who that possesses a spark.*" The following lines, make part of an unfinished poem, which will most probably never be published, tho' announced for publication ten years since.

THE PROSTITUTE.

BY T. LISTER.

"Poor profligate! I will not chide thy sins:
What, tho' the coldly virtuous turn away,
And the proud priest shall stalk indignant by,

And deem himself polluted should he hold
A moment's converse with thy guilty soul,
Yet thou shalt have my tear.—To such as thou,
Sinful, abas'd, and unbefriended, came
The world's great Saviour; from his gentle lip
Nor word of high reproof or bitter scorn
Fell chilly; but his exhortation mild
Bade the meek radiance of celestial hope
Beam on the faded brow: 'Who first shall throw
'Against this woman the accusing stone?'
Hear this ye hard reprovers of mankind,
Ye to the charms of taste and fancy dead,
Who thro' the world's tumultuous passage keep
Your cold and even tenor; hear and blush
Ye unkind comforters, who as ye pour
The nauseous poison of the keen reproof
In pharisaic spleen, are studious more
To boast the virtues of your own proud hearts,
Than medicine with hope the trembling wretch
That calls on you to bless his parting breath.

Yes, hapless outcast! thou shalt have my tear;
Thou once wast fairer than the morning light,
Thy breast unsullied as the meadow's flower
Wash'd by the dews of May. What if thine eye
Once eloquent to speak the soul's pure thought
Dart with insidious leer the lustful glance?
What if the breast, which in thy morn of life,
Just kindling to the infant thought of love,
Trembled in sweet confusion, rudely now
Pant with fierce passion and more fierce despair?

What if thine alter'd voice, no longer soft
Or plaintive, hoarsely meet the startled ear
With horrid imprecation? Not on thee
Shall fall the curse of Heaven, but on the wretch,
Fell as the lion on Numidia's wilds,
That with blood-streaming fangs and bristling mane
Growls o'er his human banquet—on the wretch
Who, dress'd in sunny smiles and April tears,
Won on thy virgin heart, and having cropt
Briefly, the luscious flower of thy young love,
Soon left thee as the poor and naked stalk
Now worthless, to abide the wintry blast,—
The chilling tempest of the world's proud scorn.

Say when with falt'ring tongue and downcast eye
He spake delicious music, and thine heart
Suspected not deceit, and as he press'd
Thy throbbing bosom to his burning lips
O'er all thy frame the soft delirium stole,
Oh could thy cheated fancy dare to think
That one so dear to thy deluded heart,
So prodigal of vows, could coldly turn
And smile on thy undoing as the theme
Of youthful triumph? Yes, he left thee thus,
Thy parent's curse, the world's unpitied scorn,
To earn the fleeting wages of disgrace,
Thy sad remains of life to linger out
In hopeless prostitution.—Dead to shame
And penitence, which all would now refuse,
And shun thee as the pestilential blight,
No hope awaits thee, but in Him alone

Who knows each secret spring that moves the heart,
And with no narrow justice rules the world.

Farewell, poor profligate! and as I give
The trifle to avert to morrow's want,
Should no licentious drunkard make thee rich,
Oh could I to thy bosom's hell impart
One ray of that pure light of virtuous thought,
Which ere the foul seducer ravening came,
Glow'd with mild radiance in thine angel face!"

P. 196. "*Many a tender.*" Catullus has lamented the death of Lesbia's sparrow in strains so simple and elegant, as to avoid being ludicrous on a trifling subject, and yet he seems himself sometimes to smile. "Lugete veneris cupidinesque," borders on the burlesque without being ridiculous.—Mr Rogers, meaning to be serious in his elegy of a Tear, has proved only laughable:—

"O that the chymist's magic art
"Could chrystalize this sacred treasure!
"Long should it glitter near my heart
"A sacred source of pensive pleasure."

This is the mere whine of poetry.—The Anthologia contains elegies on flies, locusts, and grasshoppers, which, if they were not written in Greek would be thought ridiculous.

P. 196. "*The feelings of individuals.*" Among the many instances which may be produced from ancient history, of the interest which the people of Rome and Athens took in every thing relating to the public, the account given by Thucydides, of the departure of the

famous expedition for Sicily, is by much the most animating; the whole ceremony was solemn, pathetic, and impressive.—I will not attempt to describe it, but refer my learned readers to the page of the historian, lib. 6, cap. 30. In proportion to their hopes and doubts of its success, their consternation was great on the news of its failure.——*Vide Thucid. lib.* 8. *c.* 1.

Herodotus gives a remarkable instance of public sensibility in the punishment of Phrynicus, for having brought out a play called the *Capture of Miletus*, which so much affected the feelings of the audience that they all burst into tears, because it reminded them of their own misfortunes.—The author was fined a large sum and the play was forbidden to be again represented.

Vide Herod. lib. 6. *c.* 21.

P. 197. "*Great men.*" Modern history can produce no example in which the sensibility of the public was so strongly excited by the distresses of an individual, as in the instance of Maria Teresa, queen of Hungary, and afterwards empress of Germany. Not only her own country sympathized with her misfortunes, but all European nations, who had no share in the guilt of their cause. England in particular distinguished herself by a generous support of the queen's sinking fortunes, and, at the time, every Englishman had her portrait in his house, which he almost wept over, and regarded with superstitious reverence, when he thought of her beauty and her sufferings. The account given by Wraxall, in his anecdotes of the different courts of Europe, vol. ii, p. 300, of her oration to the states of Hungary, and her presenting to them her infant son,

even now are sufficient to excite a tear of sensibility Her address, her beauty and the sight of her child, had such an effect on them, that they instantly drew their swords, and exclaimed, "Our lives and our blood for your majesty!" and they never laid down their arms, till they finally placed her on the throne of Austria.

The affection of the Americans for Washington was shewn on all occasions, but never more than when he took leave of his army. "The hour now approached, when he was to take leave of his officers, who had been endeared to him by a long series of common sufferings and dangers. Being previously assembled for the purpose, General Washington joined them, and calling for a glass of wine, he thus addressed them:—"With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take my leave of you; I most devoutly wish that your latter years may be prosperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honorable."—The officers then came up successively, and he took an affectionate leave of them. When this tender scene was over, he left the room, and passed through a corps of infantry to the vessel; the officers followed in mute procession, with dejected countenances. On entering the barge to cross the river, he turned to the companions of his glory, and, by waving his hat, bade them a silent adieu. Some of them answered this last signal of respect and affection with tears, and all of them gazed upon the barge which conveyed him from their sight, till they could no longer distinguish the person of their beloved commander."

Vide Ramsay's Hist. Am. Rev. vol. ii. *p.* 330.

P. 198. "*The sensibility of infants.*" On this subject

I am happy to find my opinion confirmed by the amiable Madame Roland in her Essay on Sensibility, *vol.* iii. *p.* 114. "Sensibility," says she, "ought either to be considered as a quality of the soul, or the result of organization; in either case, it depends, with some restrictions, entirely on education." Sensibility she considers as the source of all great actions; what is the love of glory, but a lively sensibility to the opinion of the public." A man may be coldly virtuous, but he cannot be great or amiable without sensibility.

P. 207. "*Men who are.*" A remarkable instance of feeling is to be met with in the Memoirs of Bertrand de Moleville, which shews that men may be cruel in one thing and humane in another, and that nothing is to be wondered at in the history of human inconsistency.

Vol. iii. *p.* 134, *to p.* 144.

P. 209. "*A moralist.*" The new Moral Tales of Marmontel are the best adapted of any book of amusement to form the hearts of young persons to virtue and sensibility; imagination was never better employed in the service of truth, nor morality taught with so much animation.

P. 209. "*A poet without sensibility.*" Yet many such there are, both amongst our own poets and those of other countries. The different species of poetry in which the Greeks and Romans excelled, required not any great display of the tender feelings. Euripides, Bion, and Moschus, are the only poets of the Greeks who are remarkable for pathos and sensibility; Virgil, Tibullus, and Propertius, among the Latins. Our own poets have not, till later times, cultivated the tender muse; and Dryden and Milton are seldom pathetic, tho' frequently elevated and

sublime. Pope's forte was not pathos, tho' there are two of his pieces which excel in that species. Gray and Gay were truly poets of sensibility. Were I to name all the rest who are eminent for their tenderness of feeling and delicacy of sentiment, I might swell the list to an enormous length. I will leave my readers to select those who deserve the preference.

P. 210. "*A player.*" Diderot wrote a treatise to prove that a man who has feeling can never be a good player.

P. 210. "*The sensibility of women.*" Travellers, poets, and moralists, all bear testimony to the tenderness of female hearts. A soul of greater sensibility never dwelt in a human body, than that of Mr. Ledyard, the traveller employed by the African society for discovering the interior parts of that country. "I have always remarked," says he, "that women, in all countries, are civil, obliging, tender, and humane; that they are ever inclined to be gay and cheerful, timorous and modest; that they do not hesitate, like men, to perform a generous action. Not haughty, not arrogant, not supercilious; they are full of courtesy and fond of society; more liable in general to err than men, but in general also more virtuous. To a woman, whether civilized or savage, I never addressed myself in the language of decency and friendship, without receiving a decent and friendly answer. With men it has been frequently otherwise; if hungry, dry, cold, wet or sick, the women have ever been friendly to me, and uniformly so; and to add to this, their actions have been performed in so free and so kind a manner, that, if I was dry, I drank the sweetest draught, and

if hungry, I eat the sweetest morsel with a double relish.

Vide Proceedings of the African Society, p. 65.

Tho' many of the poets have spoken harshly of women, yet there are many more who have done ample justice to their good qualities. St. Lambert, in his Principles of Morals, has given an "Analysis of Women," in which the poet, the man of the world, and the philosopher, unite to do justice to the virtues, to palliate the defects, and to suggest the improvement of the female character. The sensibility of women was never more amiably displayed, than in the late Mary Wolstonecraft. In her travels through Norway, her heart seems to bleed at every line; we see there a woman of the finest feelings suffering from neglect and cruelty, and pouring forth her mournful complaints, in language the most ardent and pathetic. A few specimens may serve to convince the reader that English prose can hardly boast of any thing more exquisite.

"Nothing, in fact, can equal the beauty of the northern summer's evening and night; if night it may be called that only wants the glare of day, for I could write at midnight very well without a candle. I contemplated all nature at rest; the rocks even grown darker in their appearance, looked as if they partook of the general repose, and reclined more heavily on their foundation.—What, I exclaimed, is this active principle which keeps me still awake? Why fly my thoughts abroad when every thing around me appears at home? My child was sleeping with equal calmness—innocent and sweet as the closing flowers.—Some recollections, attached to the idea of home, mingled with reflections respecting the state of society I had been contemplating that evening, made a

tear drop on the rosy cheek I had just kissed, and emotions that trembled on the brink of extacy and agony, gave a poignancy to my sensations, which made me feel more alive than usual."

"The cow's bell had ceased to tinkle the herd to rest; they have all paced across the heath. Is not this the witching time of night? The waters murmur, and fall with more than mortal music, and spirits of peace walk abroad to calm the agitated breast. Eternity is in these moments; worldly cares melt into the airy stuff that dreams are made of; and reveries, mild and enchanting as the first hopes of love, carry the hapless wight into futurity, who, in bustling life, has vainly strove to throw off the grief which lies heavy at the heart."

P. 210. "*Which the Persians attribute.*" Gibbon tells us, that "the great and fundamental article of the system of Zoroaster was the belief of two principles, Ormusd and Ahriman. After a long conflict, the former is to prevail, and virtue finally to maintain the peace and harmony of the universe." Vol. i. p. 321. Here is contained the doctrine of a future life, which has been the grand article in all systems of religious faith.

NOTES

To the Essay on Education.

PREFACE.

AMONG the many writers on the subject of education, it is perhaps easier for a man of leisure to read all, than to select; yet I will confess that I have read very few; and of those whom I have looked into, I have found so many who write from theory rather than from experience, and so many who merely adopt received notions and prejudices, that I chose rather to avoid their errors than to censure them, and to be guided more by my own experience than by the opinions of others. I have, therefore, been very sparing in quotations from those who have written professedly on education, and have omitted to read many authors whose books were recommended to me, least I should be thought to have borrowed from other people. If, therefore, any coincidence of ideas should be found, it must be imputed rather to chance than to design; for I again affirm, that the matter of the notes was not sought for till after the text was composed. It is also a great satisfaction to say that so far, my expectations of my own children have been fully answered.

P. 212. "*Education.*" Αλλ' ὁ νυν δη λογος ἡμῖν ὁμολογηθεὶς μενέτω ὡς ὀίγε ορθως πεπαι δευμένοι σχεδὸν ἀγκθοὶ γίγνονται.—*v. Plato de Legibus. Ed. Bipon. vol. 8th, in which are many excellent remarks on Education.*

P. 217. "*Flannel.*" For the use and virtues of flannel, see Willich on Diet and Regimen, p. 261-8. The use of flannel I should by no means recommend for children after the first few months, (if they are born in winter), except they are tender and unhealthy. To adults it is an excellent preservative against rheumatic and consumptive complaints, particularly to those who are exposed to frequent changes of weather, or much out in the air. I have known many a poor man who, working in damp and unwholesome situations, might have been saved by the use of flannel, and many others who, in different situations, have lost their lives from the want of such a defence. Count Rumford, a man whose authority passes for much in the world, says of flannel, "I am surprised the custom of wearing flannel next the skin should not have prevailed more universally;" I suppose the Count means "more generally." "I am confident it might prevent a multitude of diseases. It is a mistaken notion that it is too warm a clothing for summer. I have worn it in the hottest climates, and in all seasons of the year, and never found the least inconvenience from it." He then proceeds to enquire into the physical cause of its effects, and says, "if any thing he has said or done should induce others to make a trial of that from which I have so long experienced the greatest advantage, it will give me the greatest pleasure."

Vide Philosop. Papers, vol. i. *p.* 264.

P. 218. "*Exposed to the cold.*" See Beddoes on Consumptions, p. 20.—"Some years ago for want of understanding the difference between the effect of momentary and continued exposure to the cold, dan-

gerous mistakes have been committed. In many families, children were kept continually shivering under light clothing, and in cold apartments; of those whom this severe discipline has rendered invalids, a few survive; but the great majority has perished by mesenteric atrophy, by consumption, or by some disease of debility." Dr. Willich, says, "The use of the cold bath, as far as relates to the treatment of children, is dangerous; the requisite degrees of heat should be regulated according to the age and strength of the child. In summer, the water in which a child is bathed should be exposed to the sun, which will impart an agreeable and congenial warmth; but neither children nor grown persons should ever go into the water with full stomachs, nor ever come out of it without being well rubbed and dried. Persons little accustomed to reflect on these subjects, have no ideas of the salutary effects of the simple means here recommended, viz. washing, bathing, and airing."—He next adverts to the custom of laying children upon soft feather beds, which he conceives to be a thing the most detrimental to the health of man at all periods of his life, but particularly in the first. Thin coverings are the most wholesome in summer; they should be proportioned to the state of the weather. Cleanliness, at all ages, he says, is most conducive to health; children should have clean linen every day where it can be afforded.

Vide Introduction to Lectures on Diet and Regimen, p. 82.

P. 220. "*The food.*" A few fanciful and theoretical men, in different ages, have taken it into their heads, that it is cruel, unjust, and unnatural to eat the flesh

of beasts. Pythagoras was one of the first we hear of, Plutarch and Porphyry have written treatises on the subject. It matters not how many arguments may be brought against the custom, from reason and theory—there is one argument for it, worth them all, which is its general utility in cold climates at least, and this must determine the value of all the rules and practices of mankind. The great fault is not in eating flesh, but in eating too much of it.

P. 221. "*Soups.*" All strong stimulants such as salt, mustard, seasonings, wine and spirits, are improper for children, they weaken the digestive powers by urging them on too quickly; I consider them as combustibles put into the stomach to blow up the constitution. By weakly persons they may be used with moderation as medicines, but to healthy people the frequent use of them is gentle suicide—they are spurs and whips to the constitution which wear it out in the end.

P. 221. "*A quantity of sweet things.*" "Tho' it has frequently been maintained that sugar injures the teeth, it is not true; it is only by vitiating the stomach that the teeth become affected. If used moderately, it promotes digestion; if not, it has a contrary tendency. The finest sort of sugar being free from all impurities, is the best and most wholesome."

See Willich, p. 427.

P. 221. "*Pastry.*" The various compositions prepared by the pastry cook and the confectioner would be less objectionable if any method could be devised to bake them without the pernicious ingredients of yeast and fat, which load the stomach with glutinous slime

and rancid matter, and obstruct the glands of the abdomen, particularly those of the mesentery."

See Willich on Diet and Regimen, p. 77.

"Fat and marrow are difficult to be digested; they require a powerful stomach, and agree best with those persons who take much exercise. If not duly digested, they occasion diarrhœa, weaken the stomach and bowels, stimulate too much by their acrimony, and easily turn rancid, especially when eaten with meat much disposed to be putrid, they are apt to destroy the elasticity of the first passages as well as of the whole body, to produce the heartburn, cramp of the stomach, and head ache, and at length to generate an impure and acrimonious blood"

See Willich, p. 332.

P. 221. "*Indulgence.*" Democritus said "Ambitiosam mensam fortuna, parcam virtus apponit," and Cato the censor "Cura cibi, magna incuria virtutis." The aphorism of Democritus is not mentioned by Diogenes Laertius, nor by Menage in his copious and learned notes—it is quoted in Latin by Ammianus Marcellinus.

P. 221. "*Tea.*" Dr. Willich says, "The relaxation which tea occasions in the first passages, renders it peculiarly hurtful to females of lax fibres. The cold stomach which is proposed to be relieved by hot tea, is a mere farce, for this sensation of cold is nothing but relaxation, which, instead of being removed by hot liquors, is increased by every repetition. The Chinese have good reason to smile at our taste, when we actually possess many herbs much better calculated to invigorate our stomach and revive our spirits than tea, which we purchase of them at an immense expence."—*See Lectures on Diet, p.* 415.

P. 223. "*Early accustomed.*" The Germans, who are laborious in every thing, have invented a number of exercises for studious youth, to prevent the ill effects of a life too sedentary; some of them are rather ridiculous, and Professor Salzmann has published *A system of Gymnastics for Youth*, with plates, the most of which resemble the antics of a posture-master. That studious men often injure their health for want of exercise, is a fact that cannot be doubted; it is therefore to be wished, that those who are the most desirous of improving their minds, should pay due attention to their bodies; all exercises which have a tendency to promote this useful purpose, should be recommended to youth, and there are many to be found which are neither ridiculous, dangerous, nor unhealthy. Exercise alone, without air, and without temperance, is not sufficient for the preservation of health; without following the fantastic modes of the Germans, young men, and old too, may take exercise by walking, riding, and rural employments, sufficient for every useful purpose; the wholesome operations of gardening are much to be preferred to any contortions of the body which Salzmann has recommended

P. 224. "*They bring no ideas.*" To prove that children have no ideas but what they gain by the senses, we see, that as their senses grow stronger their ideas increase; as, in fact, for the first few months, they can hardly hear, taste, smell, see or feel.

P. 230. "*Children are naturally dirty.*" The word naturally I use here for want of a better. That which we term nature, is no more than those first propensities which are common to all.

P. 235. "*So many amusing.*" The number of this sort of books is now so great, that we are again left to the difficulty of selecting. I should recommend those, for the first years of infancy, which are the most simple and intelligible; for a child should never read, without understanding every word completely. The lessons of Mrs. Barbauld by no means answer their title, for they contain both words and ideas far beyond the capacities of those for whom they are intended. I should recommend those of Miss Edgeworth or Mrs. Somerville in preference.

P. 236. "*Intended.*" Lord Kaimes insists rather too strongly on the necessity of making praise the only reward for children. I do not deny that it ought to be generally applied; yet, from the mixed constitution of our nature, it cannot be adopted at all times. "If money, a fine coat, or what pleases the palate, be the reward promised, is it not the ready way to foment avarice, vanity, or luxury?"—P. 125. I agree that it is, if they are the *only* rewards proposed.

P. 237. "*Ugly or deformed.*" Lord Kaimes says, "If a child have any defects in its shape, let the defect be acknowledged, and even joked with at times." I by no means agree to the latter part of the sentence.

P. 238. "*The analogy.*" Art as well as nature shews the necessity of a leader or commander in all things; there must be a key-stone to an arch, as well as a leading branch to a tree.

P. 239. "*The great object of education.*" One of the most sensible writers on education whom I have had the good fortune to meet with, is Lord Kaimes; next to Mr Locke's, his was the first practical Treatise ever publish-

ed. His lordship, however, tho' he gives many excellent rules for the treatment of children, derived from experience, and a knowledge of human nature, yet, as he is strongly possessed with the old error of innate ideas, and natural dispositions, his maxims must be read and adopted with caution; he reasons sometimes inconsistently on this subject, because his prejudices and his judgment are at variance; the doctrine of innate propensities he takes for granted; yet, the rules he gives are such, as if he had no such ridiculous belief. "The human heart," says he, lies open to early instruction, and is susceptible of having proper notions imprinted on it, such as those of right or wrong, of praise or blame, of benevolence and selfishness, of yours and mine." *Vide Introduction, p. 3, to Hints on Education.*—Yet a little after, he says, "If the difference between truth and error be innate, which it surely is;" and immediately after,—"The period of infancy is short, every opportunity ought to be taken for instilling right notions, and making proper impressions."

P. 242. "*Example.*" The most amiable, elegant, and persuasive poet of the present age, has expressed, in beautiful lines, the duty of a mother to instruct her children in benevolence.

Souvent à vos beinfaits joignez votre presence,
Votre aspect consolant, doublera leur puissance,
Menez y vos enfans; qu' ils viennent sans temoin
Offrir leur don timide, au timide besoin;
Que sur tout votre fille amenant sur vos traces
La touchant pudeur la premier des grâces
Comme un ange apparoisse á l' humble pauvreté
Et fasse en rougissant l' essai de la bonté.

L' Homme des Champs. par Dellille
chant premier.

P. 244. "*Much depends.*" A few facts are worth a thousand arguments; and within the limits of my own experience, I hardly know any young persons educated at home (I do not mean merely kept at home), who were either profligate or unprincipled.

P. 244. "*A needy Parson.*" The following paragraph, from a newspaper called the Globe, 1805, will shew of what sort of stuff the masters and teachers of academies are composed.—"A swindler, of the following description, was indicted at the Middlesex sessions for defrauding the master of a coffee-house, in Oxford-street; he was found guilty, and sentenced to one year's imprisonment; and it was proved on the trial that his name was *Virgin*, that he was the son of a weaver at Taunton, that he had been a servant at Bath, after that a clerk to a banker, and being dismissed for ill behaviour, he went over to France, and on his return became assistant to an academy near London; he then opened a school at Hammersmith, the good-will of which he sold for a large sum of money; after that he became a curate at Hertinforbury, where he set up another academy. His associate in swindling, whose name was Free, was also proved to have been a teacher in many a celebrated seminary."—A wretch of the name of Garner, who lately lost his life in a notorious brothel, called the Key, was the master of an academy; these are but a few among many evidences which might be brought to prove the danger of committing children to mere advertising teachers, without further examination. Among the masters of private

academies there are no doubt many very worthy and able men, but I speak of the generality.

P. 245. "*Preserved.*" The author of the Secret Memoirs of Russia, in his chapter on Education, vol. 2, has given some account of the manner in which the children of the great families are educated in that country; he says, it has its advantages in Russia, tho' it is not applicable to any other nation.—"The great," says he, who are commonly too ignorant, or too much employed to undertake the education of their sons, confide them to the care of foreigners, who are generally Frenchmen, and place an implicit confidence in them, giving their pupils up to them to be formed in every respect by their care; and the tutors generally reward their generous reliance, by a sedulous attention to their pupils, in whom they endeavor to inspire the most elevated sentiments, and to give them a taste for every liberal study." Supposing that instead of choosing Frenchmen, our great people were to do the same to tutors of their own country, the advantages might be immense, for where a tutor takes an interest in the welfare of his pupil, he becomes a second father.

P. 245. "*After this is over.*" A new grammar has lately been published by Mr Dalton, formed on the principles of Tooke's *Diversions of Purley*.

P. 246. "*Visible to their senses.*" The greatest improvements which intellectual knowledge has experienced, within the two last centuries, are to be attributed to John Locke, and John Horne Tooke; the former overturned the doctrine of innate propensities, and the latter taught us that general terms are not signs of general ideas, but contrivances to avoid a multitude of useless names;

he has only, however, pursued the doctrine which the other first broached, and continued to refer all our ideas to the senses, as their primary and original source. Dr. Beddoes, in further attempting to banish the useless lumber of the schools, and to reduce every thing to the test of experiment, has proposed a method by which the truths of mathematics may become objects of sense, and Euclid taught, by palpable instead of imaginary figures.—The design is laudable, and if it should contribute to promote the advancement of actual above fancied knowledge, the Dr. may be considered as a benefactor of his species; for I heartily join with him in condemning the exclusive preference given to classical over scientific education, and wish to see the two united in the utmost possible degree, and for the best possible purpose After having enforced the necessity of reducing mathematical demonstration to the evidence of the senses, he proposes "to construct a geometrical apparatus, which might be employed in the early part of education; for," says he, "every thing we observe in children conspires to shew that nature intended us, during the first periods of life, to be chiefly employed in exercising them. The soul of a child may be said essentially to reside in its senses. At a riper age, the combination of these ideas engages a considerable share of attention, and at an advanced age, when the senses are blunted, the exercise of the internal faculties will still more occupy a mind previously well stored. As classical literature is not the whole, nor the most important part, of what ought to be taught in a good education, so even to acquire

this, some better method than that which we at present follow is wanting." The object of his book he professes to have been, to strengthen those arguments which hath been urged in favor of a system of education, which should pay some attention to the senses and the understanding.

Vide Demost. Evidence, p. 129.

P. 250. "*Banish deceit.*" Men are and always have been either bullied or cheated, and perhaps there is no other method by which they can be held together in society; these two words describe the two kinds of government, simple or mixed, to which all men are subject, tyrannies the first, monarchies and republics the second; and yet under both there is room for the exercise of great virtues among individuals. The Persians, who were not a commercial people, held truth in the greatest veneration, they detested nothing so much as a lie, and therefore they despised all people whom the practice of barter and exchange had rendered perfidious. When Cyrus received the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, he enquired what sort of people the Lacedæmonians were, and having heard, he gave them this answer—"I have no fear of men who have a place in the middle of their city where they meet together to cheat each other, if I live they shall suffer for it."

Herod. lib. 1. *c.* 153.

P. 250. "*Tell a lie.*" *Gretry sur la verite* is a book which I recommend to my readers, as containing much good advice, tho' somewhat spoilt by an extravagant enthusiasm.

P. 253. "*Whoever wishes.*" On the danger of entrusting young people to servants. *v. Vita de Alfieri, scritta da Esso vol.* i. p. 58.

P. 256. "*Those who are nursed.*" The illustrious Henry IVth of France, was born and educated in the rude province of Bearne; in his infancy he was dressed and fed like the children of the peasants; he lived among rocks and precipices, his food was brown bread and cheese, and his drink the pure stream; his head and feet were always bare, and he was a stranger to every species of indulgence.—Thomas, in his Eloge de Sully, attributes his strong and vigorous temper of mind, chiefly to his hardy education. "Luxury," says he, "by enfeebling the nerves destroys the principle of greatness, and makes the soul perish even before its birth." One man differs not much by nature from another man; but he is the best who has been brought up in adversity.

Thucydides, book i. *p.* 84.—*Ed. Bipontii.*

P. 259. "*The blighting.*" The beautiful sonnet of Petrarch addressed to a friend, who had abandoned literature for commerce, may be well applied to the present age—

Povera e nuda Filosophia
Dice la turba, al vil guadagno intesa.

Sonetta 7th.

P. 260. "*Liberty and the arts.*" Ideas similar to these may be found in the celebrated Treatise of Alfieri del Principe et delle Lettere.

P. 261. "*The religious principles of young men.*" Having lately seen advertised a defence of public education by the master of Westminster school, and being particularly interested in every thing relating to the instruction of youth, I bought it with the hope of finding many new and strong arguments in favor of public over private education by so able an advocate; but great indeed was my disappoint-

ment, when I found it contained little more than a foolish answer to a foolish attack about the number of prayers and collects that boys are forced to repeat in some of our great schools, which another learned Doctor had affirmed were totally omitted. The worthy head master positively maintains that the religious offices enjoined at Westminster amount to prayers (including the graces), ten times a day, of which none are omitted, except those at six o'clock in the morning. "The majority of the others is performed nine times every day, and the performance is enforced with as much *external decency* as can be expected, allowing for the natural impatience of boys under restraint, and the levity of youth." Added to these, are perpetual lectures, and religious exercises without number. Allowing all this to be true, can any thing tend more effectually to disgust young people with the very name of religion, can any thing more plainly account for the progress of infidelity? All that the Doctor says in its favor is, that it is in compliance with their statutes—statutes which were formed in times of religious bigotry and moral ignorance. Do not these things call powerfully for reform? or are our youth to be perpetually stunned with repetitions which can have no effect but to make them think religion a farce? It is not compelling boys to repeat creeds and commandments that will preserve them from vice and depravity.—On a subject of so trivial a nature, it is a pity two grave Doctors should differ so widely, and handle their weapons so roughly: they only give scandal to the church, and make sport for infidels. The learned master's defence of pagan learning does him credit as a scholar and a philosopher, and when his pen

is employed on subjects of such a nature, he seems to be acting in a manner worthy of his powerful talents; but to defend the mere repetition of collects, prayers and graces, without even pretending that they are of any utility, seems to be altogether unworthy of a man qualified to do justice to the higher topics of literature and morality.

P. 261. "*At first, therefore, let them.*" The folly of some parents with regard to their children, on the subject of religion, can only be accounted for by the force of custom and early prepossession. To teach a child to say its prayers before it can say its letters, is thoroughly ridiculous, yet not uncommon; let us at least wait till they understand what they are saying. In most other things we are content to stop for the expansion of reason; and religion is certainly not to be understood by inspiration, nor the only thing to be taught without being comprehended.

P. 262. "*Answer.*" The words of that great poet of antiquity whose works contain a rare union of imagination, good sense and morality, are exactly conformable to this idea.—*Vide Pind. Olymp.* 2, 154 *to* 160, to which I refer the learned.

P. 262. "*Analysis.*" Montesquieu sur le grandeur et decadence des Romanis, is a complete analysis of the whole Roman history; and he that reads that book may save himself the trouble of reading many others.

P. 268. "*Considerably compressed.*" Cicero quotes οὐδὲν γλυκύτερον ἢ πάντ' εἰδέναι. *Epistolæ ad Atticum*, l. 14. 11. But Erasmus says,—"Magna pars scientiæ est quædam nescire." *v. Epist.*

P. 269. "*Poetry,*" Mediocribus esse poetis, Non homines, non Di non concessêre columnæ.

v. Hor. A. P. l. 373.

The productions of nature are not all equally beautiful, neither are the productions of genius, but there is a point below which beauty is not to be found.—There are many beautiful poets who are not in the first rank of poetry.

P. 269. "*History.*" "Historia quoquo modo scripta delectat."

Plin. Epis. Lib. 5. 8.

P. 270. "*Such books.*" The private lives of Princes are in general much more amusing than their public actions. Few books gives us a more disgusting picture of the interior of courts than the interesting memoirs of the Margravine of Bareith, from that book private persons may learn not to envy the great, and princes may learn to fear being thus exposed to posterity. On the mode in which young people should read history, see some excellent hints in Wyttenbach's Vita Ruhnkenii, p. 99. to 107.

P. 273. "*Rapin.*" I have mentioned this valuable historian only as being unfit for young persons.

P. 279. "*By design.*" The learned Adam Smith says, that private education being the institution of nature, and public education the contrivance of man, it is easy to determine which is the wisest.

Vide Theory of Moral Sentiments, vol. ii. *p.* 78.

The reason here given for preferring private to public education, is by no means a good one, nor sufficient to satisfy any man of sense; it is as much as to say, that nature is in all things to be preferred to art, and that man can make no improvements in the works of nature; a position contradicted by every day's experience;—almost the whole of society is artificial.

P. 280. "*One profession.*" The old poets, who are no bad philosophers, are full of allusions to that rigid

necessity which is the cause of so many evils in the world; and Hesiod, describing the two kinds of contention which the gods have given to men, has these remarkable words:—

Ουτὶς τηνγε φίλῃι ϛρστος αλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης
Ἀθανατων ϛουλησιν ἔριν τιμῶσι ϛαρειαν
Εργα και ἤμερσι.—l. 15.

His pious editor, Dr Robinson, fearful of making God the author of evil, attempts to explain away his meaning; it remains, however, as before; and, by literally translating his words, it is,—

"War and discord, so fatal to mankind, are produced by the one."

"No one loves this species of contention, yet by the counsels of the immortals, and by the law of necessity, men cultivate it tho' heavy and oppressive."

It is natural for a man, suffering under the weight of calamity, to console himself with the idea of future happiness, either in this world or another; hence have arisen the notions of immortality, common to all ages; hence also comes the Christian notion of a millenium; and hence the philosophical dream, of a state of perpetual peace and tranquillity—an imaginary prospect which no age will ever see.

P. 282. "*Our Universities must.*" A sermon has lately been published by Dr. Parr, with copious notes, many of which, like the flourishes of modern music, have little to do with the original subject; in these, the Doctor has discussed pretty much at length, the utility and excellence of our Universities, and endeavored to defend them against the attacks of Mr Gibbon and others.—

With how great success, it is by no means foreign to my purpose to examine. The singularities of his stile I will leave to the just reprehension of the critics, and meddle with nothing more than his arguments. He professes to desire that the Universities should be judged by their fruits, and in this I will not oppose him, yet, as he has noticed only the choicest of those fruits, I will speak of the whole, for out of the tens of thousands who have been educated at Oxford and Cambridge for the last forty years, he selects about fifty, whose proficiency in virtue and learning he considers to be a sufficient proof of the excellence of these institutions. His list, if it was meant to honor only those who have been eminently distinguished, is too large; if he intended to mention every member of the two Universities who deserved to be considered a gentleman and a scholar, it is too small, for hundreds have merited his notice on this account, in addition to those whom he has mentioned, tho' unknown to the world either by their conduct or their writings.—It is by no means fair to decide on the merits of any place of education from the few who have done it credit, compared with the numbers who have either been ruined or never heard of; because the excellence of any institution depends on its general effects, not upon a few examples selected by prejudice or partiality. The Doctor does not consider how many, lost in the gulph of indolence or pleasure, have perished nameless and forgotten; of these he takes no account, but pompously enumerates a few who have the name of scholars, which is by no means a proof either of public or private worth.

Tho' I am willing and desirous to bear testimony to

the excellent intention and many advantages of these seminaries, I will by no means agree with Dr. Parr, that all is right, because, in the course of a three weeks visit to Cambridge or Oxford, he was indulged with literary conversation in a few combination rooms, or handsomely entertained by many masters of colleges. Dr. Parr resided at Cambridge as an under graduate for nearly three years, and during that time he was not remarkable in his expressions of reverence for the attainments of his superiors. Since that time, he has frequently been there as a visitor, and his great literary reputation having always insured him respect, he has returned it copiously with praise; but he is, nevertheless little qualified to judge of the internal regulations of a place where he has been conversant only with a few of its members, and those selected for their learning and talents. I resided in the University of Cambridge for many years, and have examined it in all its stages; I have seen all the springs which move the machine, and found some of them rusty, and some out of repair, yet, with all my consciousness of its defects, I am sensible that, when properly adjusted, it is capable of producing the most extensive advantages, and, so far from wishing to speak of it with disrespect for the faults of some of its members, or for those failings which are the inevitable consequence of great antiquity, I will never cease to think with gratitude of the time spent under its venerable shade; of the many pleasant acquaintances which I formed during a residence of near seventeen years, and of the many helps and inducements to study which were afforded me, by its tranquil serenity, its copious libraries,

and literary converse. Yet I will not give to *Alma Mater* all the credit of those who have done her honor, for they mostly went there well provided with a disposition for knowledge, and well fortified against the dangers of youthful vices, or, like many others, they might have perished, unknown and unlamented; for I have seen such instances of the power of temptation, and the neglect of tutors, that I am thoroughly convinced that nothing but previous good habits and much resolution can support a young man in his studies, or preserve him against vice and indolence. On the other hand, I will acknowledge that the whole fault is not to be imputed to the Universities, for such is the dissipation of the age, that young men frequently come there complete proficients in vice and debauchery; but it certainly is the fault of those who have the government of colleges, that others who enter them, comparatively pure, should suffer from the ill effects of company and example. Let them send away all those who are notoriously debauched, however great their rank and fortune; let them compel them to give up their horses, their servants, and their carriages, or go themselves. No; this will not answer the purpose of masters and tutors, whose hopes of preferment are generally attached to young men of rank and family.—While the Church is connected with the State, and the Universities are governed by the Church, it will never be otherwise. Dr. Parr has met with some instances of young men of great talents who have been honored with University distinctions, and he hastily concludes that the whole system of education is good; but this is a false inference. I do not expect all to be learned, nor all vir-

tuous; yet ignorance and profligacy may be banished, and many errors reformed. Let tutors examine minutely into the conduct of their pupils, not with the cold severity of superiors, but with the honest warmth of friends; let them lay aside all distance and reserve; let them meet and converse freely with all ranks; let them consider themselves answerable for their conduct, and they will then be careful to know how they employ their time; for a man who undertakes the instruction of youth, cannot always be his own master; he must devote many hours in the day to his pupils; he must wink at some things, if they are not gross; he must not be extreme to mark offences; he must advise, rather than command, and seem to take an interest in all that relates to the young man's welfare, and if, after that, he does not succeed in making him both wise and good, he will be more than commonly unfortunate. The remarks of Mr Gray, tho' sometimes caustic and severe, are generally well grounded; but the pedantry of Dr. Parr, in bringing forward a list of great names, many of whom have done very little to the general advancement of virtue and happiness, is not to be supported. What does it prove of the general excellence of the place, that Snape, Taylor, and Waterland, were of Cambridge? and what could Lord North know of the internal state of Oxford? Just as much as the Duke of Grafton did of Cambridge. I detest this childish appeal to great men; it degrades the dignity of learning, and lessens the respect due to talents; it shews the consciousness of a bad cause, or a great want of argument. To what purpose is it to boast of his friendship with Dr. Routh, to prove that the college of

Magdalen is well administered? The most learned men are not always the best masters of colleges. The pedantry, and, I will affirm, the weakness, of appealing to Isaac Causabon, in answer to Lord Sheffield's accusation of the expences of an University, tho' they will not contribute one atom towards conviction, may excite a smile of pity or contempt. To the testimony of Dr. Parr, in favor of masters and tutors of colleges, against another charge of Lord Sheffield's I will state positively that he is egregiously mistaken, and further, that he has few opportunities of being acquainted with the fact; but, even during his short stay at Cambridge, he must have been blind indeed, if he has not remarked the extravagant respect which is paid to men of fortune, and the eagerness with which they are sought for by the different colleges. I have seen the venerable rulers of these seats of learning as jealous of each other, when a nobleman was in the case, as a set of beaux about a celebrated beauty. The foolish distinction of ranks and studies is degrading to learning, and subversive of morality; a fellow commoner may miss lectures and chapel with impunity, when a pensioner or sizer is punished.

The lectures of different professors, and Bodleian catalogue, in two volumes folio, are next brought forward by the Doctor, as a proof of the advanced state of learning, and the general excellence of University studies. We are then entertained with a long panegyric on the examinations, competitions, and emulation of young men at Cambridge, and their progress in all learning and science, which might be very fine, if it were all true, or applied to one tenth of the students, but Dr. Parr ought to

know, that young men may be as idle as they please, if they do not please to be otherwise, and that even those who obtain literary distinctions do not always deserve them, for there is much of intrigue and management in all public examinations. Is it reasonable to suppose that a lecture of an hour in a day, which generally consists of nothing more than one of the students construing a classic, and hearing a few grammatical remarks, can improve a young man either in classical or any other knowledge? Even supposing these lectures, as they are called, to consist of the most elegant and learned explanation of an author, is that all that is required of a tutor? Should he not endeavor to give his pupils enlarged and liberal ideas of history, morality, poetry, oratory, criticism, the principles of the laws of nations and the elements of our own laws? Ought there not to be also lectures given *gratis* by professors, on chemistry, practically applied, and on every branch of knowledge which relates to the happiness and comfort of society? Certainly this ought to be so, and yet it is certain that it is not so. How then are we to consider these places as adapted to the great purposes of social and civil life, to the advancement of knowledge, or the extension of truth and liberality!— How can minute and verbal criticisms on classical authors enlarge the mind or expand the heart, or what connection have pure mathematics with politics or morality, the great objects of education? No mere mathematician is either wiser or better than other men.

Till the funds which have been appropriated for the benevolent purposes of public instruction are more properly applied, till the Universities cease to be connected with the

Church, till some method can be devised to excite the zeal of tutors for the interest of their pupils, the Universities will never be what they ought to be—the seats of knowledge and guardians of integrity.

Tho' those institutions were at first formed with excellent intentions, yet they shew, both in their original statutes and subsequent management, little knowledge of human nature. Punishments, formerly degrading and severe, and now trifling and ridiculous, are the only means of amendment employed; and rewards, which are so few, compared to the number of competitors, as to damp the ardor of exertion, produce but little industry among young students, who are less ready to find motives for application than excuses for indolence.—The account which Dr. Parr has given of these seminaries is like the narratives of certain travellers, who pretend to acquire an idea of the manners and character of a people by hurrying through the post towns, and being introduced to two or three individuals in the country: they both glide over the surface of things, and then think themselves qualified to judge of the substance of the elements of which the body is composed; yet it requires an intimate knowledge of both, to speak with any certainty or truth of their different merits and qualities. I vaunt not of superior knowledge, but superior opportunities. I have lived in the University with the young and the old, with the learned and the unlearned, with the virtuous and the vicious. I have remarked the temptations, propensities, and dispositions of the young, and seen how much they suffer from the solicitation and example of their equals, and the negligence and indifference of their elders.

I have seen young men, by being suddenly removed from one sort of society to another, become sober, diligent, and steady, or profligate, thoughtless, intemperate, debauched, and unprincipled; and all this without any knowledge or interference of their superiors.—I have seen the modest, well disposed youth, fresh from the purity of a country school, resist for months every temptation to vice, and withstand every attack, but that of ridicule; in such a case, he might have been preserved by the interference of a tutor, to recommend him to proper society; for I am certain how much depends on young men having tutors or companions a little older than themselves; neither severe nor profligate, but lively, temperate, and studious. Instead of this, their tutors and masters are too far removed from them, both by age and dignity, and the young men are left entirely to themselves and to the company of each other, without any other restraint or admonition than a trifling punishment, which they either laugh at or evade, and if they take care not to offend grossly, they may be as idle and debauched as they please, for, in many colleges, a Latin theme once a week is the only literary exercise required, and chapel twice a day the only religious duty, and for these, all offences may be commuted or pardoned.—It is not perhaps now the time to say what might be done to render our two Universities better suited to their original purpose; yet it is certainly allowable to say what they are not, for, after all, the question of their merits must be decided, not by pedantry and pompous words, but by common sense, by facts, and by experience.

P. 282. "*The education.*" The education of women

in this country was at one period too learned; it was then again neglected, and in general very limited and illiberal. The learned languages, tho' by no means indispensibly requisite, are certainly a desirable acquisition: yet such a degree of information as may enlarge the mind, by preventing early prejudices, and implanting liberal ideas, is positively required in every young woman above the condition of poverty. The daughters of Sir Thomas More were among the earliest examples of learned women. Erasmus tells us, in one of his epistles, that his acquaintance with them removed his prejudices against female improvement. "Jam neminem fere mortalium non habebat hæc persuasio, sexui feminino literas et ad castitatem et ad famam esse inutiles. Nec ipse quondam prorsus abhorrui ab hac sententia, verum hanc mihi Morus penitus excussit animo. Nulla res sic totum puellæ pectus occupat quam studiam. Multis simplicitas et rerum inscitia pudicitiæ jacturam attulit. Neque video cur maritis sit metuendum ne minus habeant morigeras si doctas habeant. Imo mea sententiâ nil intractibilius est inscitiâ. Certé hoc præstat animus culturâ studiorum exercitatus, ut intelligat æquas probasque rationes, videatque quid deceat, quid expediat. Ad hæc quum jucunditas, firmitasque conjugii magis ab animorum benevolentia quam corporum amore proficicatur, multo tenscioribus vinculis junguntur quos ingeniorum quoque charitas copulat, magisque veretur maritum uxor, quem agnoscit et præceptorem." *Erasmi. Epist ed. fol. p.* 760.—The whole of this epistle deserves to be perused.—Yet learning, without good sense, is a dangerous acquirement, and they who wish their daughters to have the one, should not forget the other; a learned

woman frequently neglects her family, a sensible one very seldom.

P. 287. "*Boarding schools are.*" The prevalence of boarding-school education is a proof of the luxury and dissipation of the age; for parents who are constantly engaged in visiting and amusements, can have little time to attend to their children, and, therefore, rather than leave them to servants, send them to a boarding-school, which, of two evils, is certainly the least; tho' in some cases, I believe young people may stand a better chance of being properly educated there than at home; for where the conductors of these schools have sense enough to discover that it is for their interest to do justice to their pupils, and where they do not take too many, it is certainly a resource by no means to be despised, tho' never to be preferred to the advantages of parental education, when that can be obtained with its requisite excellence.

NOTES

To the Essay on the British Constitution.

P. 289. "*The Germans.*" For the origin of the British Constitution, see Gilbert Stuart's Enquiry.

P. 290. "*The representation.*" V. debates at the Revolution, on the word *Abdicated*—Cobbet's debates, vol. v p. 40. "Our government is mixed, not monarchical or tyrannous, and had its beginning from the people."—Speech of Serjeant Maynard.—"It is by the people's consent we make laws."—Speech of Serjeant Treby.—"When a king breaks the laws he ceases to be a king." King James Ist's speech 16 7. The constitution of the government is grounded upon compact and covenant with the people, Sir R. Howard's speech, v. Cobb. v. 5. In these debates it is manifest how much the boldest speakers feared to pronounce that the King had forfeited the crown by his acts of tyranny and violation of the constitution. They were unwilling to sanction the doctrine, that Kings may be punished for their misdeeds, like other men.

P. 292. "*To preserve.*" The benefits of the British Constitution were not obtained, and cannot be preserved without many sacrifices. The Hampdens, Marvels and Sidneys of former times have lived in vain, if we their descendants, either thro' fear or interest, basely sur-

render the blessings they have obtained for us. To such men is the world indebted for all that it now enjoys of liberty, virtue and happiness, for had they not given up their lives and comfort, and patiently endured the persecution of tyrants, darkness would have overspread the face of the earth, and the moral world been "without form or comeliness." To those purer souls who, refined from the gross feelings of interest or servility, have written, fought and suffered for their country, it is owing that the glorious flame of liberty has been kept alive on the earth, and the mass of society preserved from corruption and rottenness, for without liberty every other gift of heaven is dull and spiritless. What are knowledge, wealth, and talents, without the power to use them freely? What are friends and honors without secure enjoyment? What is even life without liberty? To those then who have surrendered their quiet and comfort to secure this inestimable blessing to their own age and to posterity, the world is indebted as its best benefactors, and tho' they suffered severely by the sacrifices they made of ease and comfort, yet they had pleasures which the sordid sons of corruption can never feel, they had pleasures which men of common clay can never taste, they had their reward in the pure and animated enjoyment of having done a service to the world, which no narrow considerations of private interest can ever equal, and narrow souls can never comprehend.—Let us then erect statues to the memory of those illustrious patriots who have sustained the cause of civil and religious liberty, by their pen, their sword, or their purse. Yet should public gratitude fail to honor them with due

esteem, their memory will still live in the breast of every honest man, who prizes his liberty more than his existence.

P. 293. "*Equal representation.*" The representation first began to be unequal in the time of Elizabeth, by many towns falling to decay which had formerly possessed considerable opulence, and since then other towns have risen to great consequence which were not originally thought worthy of representatives.—For further information on this subject, see Cobbett's Parliamentary Register, *vol.* i. *p.* 749. and Flower's Political Review, *vol.* viii. *p.* 254.

P. 294. "*Liberty of the press.*" While the power of the Attorney General to file informations ex officio, and the doctrine of truth being a libel, remain in force, the liberty of the press rests not on right but on permission.

P. 294. "*Constitution and law.*" Vide Cartwright's Appeal, p. 18. The passage he quotes from Lord Abingdon's pamphlet has not however given the distinction its full force, because his lordship forgot that many valuable parts of the constitution are to be found in acts of Parliament.

Blackstone has not sufficiently attended to the distinction between political and civil liberty, tho' no two things can be more distinct. The one means the share which the people have in the government, the other the protection they derive from it, without the former there is no security for the latter.

P. 298. "*It is not meant in this short treatise.*" A diligent perusal of our monkish historians, and of our early law writers, is requisite for acquiring an accurate knowledge of the constitution.

NOTES

To the Essay on Political Œconomy.

P. 296. "*Happiness is the end.*" That the good of the whole is the object of government was a maxim acknowledged by all political writers in the free states of antiquity, yet never practically applied to the lower ranks. So far as it related to them, it rested merely in theory; their liberty was a vain shew, which consisted only in tumult and noise; and the idea of having a share in the government seemed to compensate for the want of all the substantial blessings of society. Xenophon describes them as in the lowest state of degradation; "In every country," says he, "the better sort of people are the enemies of the democracy, or lower ranks, for in the former there is the least intemperance and iniquity, but in the latter there is ignorance, disorder, and iniquity; their poverty drives them to every thing that is base, and their ignorance is the consequence of their poverty." *Vide Libellus de Repub. Ath. in the Opuscula Politica, ed. Zeunii.* The whole of this chapter is filled with expressions of contempt towards the lower ranks. The great *desideratum* in politics is to civilize the mob.

P. 300. "*Has a right to expect from.*" Le peuple est admirable pour choisir ceux á qui il doit confier quel-

que partie de son autoritè. Comme la plupart des citoyens, qui ont assez de suffisance pour elire, n'en ont pas assez pour être elûs, de même le peuple qui a assez de capacite pour se faire rendre compte de la gestion des autres, n'est pas propre a gerer par lui même.

Montesquieu, lib. 2, cap. 2.

P. 305. "*He listened.*" The greater part of these insinuations were listened to by the monarch with heedless credulity, and he was on the point of stopping the virtuous progress of the only man qualified to save himself and the nation from utter ruin. The courtiers represented Sully as unequal to the task he had undertaken, and vaunted of their own superficial knowledge in a jargon, which was intelligible only to themselves.—*Vide Memoires, French edit. 4to. p.* 450. But when they found that argument was of no longer avail, they resorted to calumny, and invented stories to the disgrace of Sully, which were indeed too gross to deceive the most credulous. One of the stories was, that he had seized upon, and constantly carried about with him as prisoners, those discarded peculators who had ruined the nation; the king, however, gave credit to the rumor, and on his first meeting with Sully afterwards, received him with coldness and distance; but at the same time taxed him with his supposed cruelty, and called on him to explain his conduct. The surprise of the minister, on so ridiculous an accusation, was a sufficient proof to the king that he was innocent, and the whole had the effect of overwhelming his enemies with disgrace, and placing him irrevocably in the king's favor, thereby affording a strong instance how far truth and honesty will prevail over in-

trigue and deceit. The coffers of the king were empty, the country was impoverished, and every thing was in a manner to begin afresh; yet Sully, by his prudence and œconomy, in a few years, caused every thing to revive and flourish. P. 484. He forbad the manufacture of gold and silver stuffs, and every article of luxury. This, perhaps, was an excess of œconomy, but the means which he took to stop the accumulation of money in the hands of public peculators, and his reflections on that species of wealth, deserve to be remembered in all ages, and at all times. "Nothing," says he, "has contributed so much to pervert among us the idea of probity, simplicity, and independence, and to bring those virtues into contempt; nothing has more strongly fortified that unfortunate propensity to effeminacy and luxury so common among men; nothing has so much degraded the ancient French nobility, as those rapid and brilliant fortunes amassed by farmers of the revenue, and other public plunderers, by the opinion which they have propagated, that money is the only road to honor and dignity, and that with money every thing may be forgotten and forgiven."—*Vide p.* 67, *vol.* ii. The means which he took to suppress duelling were perhaps too violent for the times in which he lived. The practice is founded on mistaken notions of honor, which, at a time when mankind had few better principles to direct them, (tho' it cannot be defended on the principles of justice and reason,) may at least be pardoned, as having tended to promote civilization, and preserve the weak from the rudeness and insults of the strong. P. 149.

P. 305. "*But time and perseverance.*" For an account

of Sully's life and conduct, I refer to his interesting memoirs, and to his panegyric, by the French philosopher, Thomas.

P. 305. "*Frugality and œconomy.*" The love of pleasure and the love of power are the two most forcible motives of human action; in the present state of society, money is power, and, therefore, the pursuit of money, by those who have it not, is both natural and justifiable, and the pursuit of pleasure, by those who have it, is equally blameless, provided their pleasures be moderate, rational, and beneficient: nothing but stoicism, or romantic ignorance, can deny the truth of these positions. Money is the most powerful incentive to industry, and without it no state can subsist; whoever, therefore, condemns the moderate pursuit of gain, or affects to despise money, as beneath his notice, shews his extreme ignorance of the principles of human nature, and will probably suffer for it, by contempt and poverty. As money is the representative of wealth, so paper is the representative of money, and a poor one it is; yet such is the force of custom, that it is now almost of equal value with the reality. For my own part, I almost blush for shame when I offer a man a piece of dirty paper as the price of his labor or ingenuity; and yet money, whatever form it may take, is the great cement of society; it binds the whole together, tho' it sets individuals at variance.

P. 308. "*Richlieu.*" This minister, whose whole life was a scene of intrigue, of artifice, and cruelty, set out in the world with a lie, for in order to be consecrated a bishop by Paul V. he pretended he was twenty-four years of age, when he was only twenty-two. He was

a man of extensive talents, of the most profound subtlety, and the most complete profligacy of principle. His intrigues tended in some degree to the aggrandisement of his country, and that single circumstance has, with many people, been sufficient to atone for all his faults and vices; yet he was a tissue of every thing that was base and contemptible. Cruel, revengeful, suspicious, implacable, artful, and ostentatious; he squandered the treasures of the nation to gratify his own vanity, and heaped together immense wealth, which, to satisfy his conscience, he left to the king. The people were nothing with him; himself and the court were every thing. The particulars of his administration present too horrid a picture of human nature, in the extremes of oppressors and oppressed, to be considered with complacency; and it were well if a veil could be for ever thrown over such history, which affords neither instruction nor amusement, and can only excite pity and contempt. For a further account of this artful intriguer, see Hume's History of England, *vol.* vi. *p.* 232.

P. 308. "*Mazarin.*" The character of this man was in some degree opposite to that of his predecessor, for, tho' a subtle politician, he had more boldness, more openness, and more dignity; yet, their schemes of policy were the same, tho' their means were different. To humble the nobles and the people, and to exalt the power of the crown, as the means of exalting themselves, were their great objects. Under the authority of Mazarin, the internal administration was more shamefully neglected, tho' the power of Austria was more completely humbled; his own coffers were filled, while those of

the treasury and the people were emptied; justice, commerce, arts, science, and learning, withered under his blighting power. The military glory of France was raised to a high pitch of renown, but her internal prosperity was ruined; the education of the young monarch was neglected, and most of the vices of Louis XIV. are to be attributed to the example and the vile policy of this profligate and ambitious minister. More grossly avaricious than Richlieu, he had heaped up treasures too enormous even for the royal coffers, and he maintained a degree of shew and splendor, beyond even royal magnificence. His princely air and manner continued with him to the last, and it is even said, that to keep up the appearance of health, in the languor of disease, and to deceive those who might expect his death, when he gave his last public audience, he put rouge upon his face, and assumed a degree of spirit in his air and gait, which was indeed but ill counterfeited; for the Spanish ambassador turned round to some one near him and remarked, that it was a pretty good likeness of the cardinal, tho' not quite so spirited as the original. His conscience smote him on his death bed, and by the advice of his confessor, he bequeathed all his treasures to the king. Alas! he had nothing to bequeath to the people for the loss of their liberty and comfort.

P. 911. "*Montesquieu.*" His faults and his excellencies have been ably estimated by the once celebrated Bertrand Barrere.

The merits of his remarks on the different principles of different forms of government, have been acutely examined by Helvetius, by Mr Henry Redhead Yorke, in

his Mural Nights, p. 19. &c. and by the Count Alfieri, in his celebrated book Della Tirannide, p. 24.

One of the few chapters in which Montesquieu had chosen to censure present evils, is that in which he treats of the effect of punishments, *lib.* 6. *cap.* 12. And in another place where, according to his general principle, he was going to justify the use of torture in despotic states; but he makes a long pause, and exclaims,—"But I hear the voice of nature cry out against me!" *cap.* 17. The books of Montesquieu, which more particularly relate to political œconomy, are the 13th, 20th, 21st, 22d, and 23d.

P. 313. "*The œconomists.*" The system of the œconomists has met with an able defender in the illustrious Dugald Stewart, and whoever wishes to think well of them, must apply to his defence of their motives and principles. I doubt he has spoken of them too favorably, yet he has spoken with moderation.

To such of my readers as are unacquainted with the writings of this amiable philosopher, and have any taste for moral and intellectual researches, I recommend an immediate perusal of mild, calm, candid, liberal, and enlightened disquisitions. He does not rest merely in speculative systems and opinions, but lays down principles deduced from long experience and profound meditation, tending at the same time, by natural inference, to moral, social, and political melioration; yet these things are not introduced with the fiery zeal of a reformer, but with the sober dignity of philosophical enquiry. They are not addressed to the multitude, but to those by whom the multitude must be enlightened. Tho' I admire his phi-

losophy, I dissent from his metaphysics, for they tend to revive the doctrines which Mr Locke so happily exploded.

P. 324. "*He therefore.*" When Adam Smith wrote the following passage, he never imagined what was to happen in the year 1800.—"And from what has been said, it seems evident enough, that corn can at no price be so engrossed by the inland dealers as to hurt the people."—*Vol.* ii. *p.* 307.

The great increase of paper money in this country (caused by the necessities of government, and the exportation of specie), has had an evident tendency to raise the price of provisions, and to favor the schemes of monopolists. It becomes the duty of government, as instituted for the good of the people, to lay restraints on such speculations, and take every means in their power to bring back the capital of the country to that sober and regular employment of its strength, which might tend to the moderate advantage of individuals, without depressing the middle ranks of the community. Instead of this, however, government have hitherto seemed rather to favor the tendency which the state of the circulating medium (occasioned by the late war), has had, to the aggrandisement of a few at the expence of the many; for we hear of nothing now but great merchants, great farmers, and great fortunes in every trade, while the poor and middle ranks are oppressed by those enormous prices, which tend to make others great at their expence.

Since the above was written, the situation of England is almost wholly changed. She is about to be brought down to her true rank and level in the scale of nations.

She has descended from the proud pre-eminence which she has so long enjoyed by the folly and weakness of other nations, and it will require no small portion of political wisdom, and no small skill in political œconomy to enable her to maintain the station even of a secondary power. To this state she has been brought by the imprudent interference of Mr Pitt in the French revolution.

P. 326. "*Dictionary.*" An Italian is now publishing, at Milan, a collection of all the writers of his own country, on political œconomy, enriched with judicious notes and observations; the work will comprehend about thirty volumes, in octavo, and probably be some time before it is completed.

P. 327. "*Malthus.*" The Edinburgh Reviewers, who profess to criticise every work of importance, of which importance they create themselves the sole judges, have most unaccountably never yet noticed Mr Matthus' book on Population, a work whose moral and political importance exceeds, in my opinion, that of any other, of the last or present century. These gentlemen are very fluent writers, but on most subjects very superficial thinkers, and I am sorry to find on that account that they are able to make so great an impression on the public opinion; for if there is any sort of men whose influence is more to be dreaded in a state than that of any other, it is those who have acquired a habit of talking and writing upon any subject without any profundity of thought; such men can lead the multitude wherever they please, for the multitude never trouble themselves with thinking, but they like fine words and fine sentences;

they like to have their ears tickled, and they like the men who can tickle them, and such men are the Edinburgh Reviewers, they can gloss and varnish over any subject, and make the worse appear the better reason, but they have never penetrated deeply into the nature of things, and yet they have bandied and tossed about all authors, and all subjects of importance, except Malthus on Population. That they have never ventured to fathom, for it is a subject on which words alone are not sufficient, they dare not attempt it in all its bearings and relations, therefore they have with ~~proper~~ prudence left it untouched. Men who think much and write little are most likely to write well on the subjects they undertake to handle, while they who write on all subjects can seldom think deeply upon any, and if they can but acquire a fluency of words, and a certain novelty of arrangement, which goes a great way with the multitude, they think themselves qualified for any literary undertaking, however arduous or extensive; these are the men whom my soul abhors—

ωμως ἀϊδαισι πυλεσσι

Homer.

because they are always arrogant in proportion to their emptiness, and impose upon the world both in writing and conversation by the mere force of well sounding and well arranged words, and treat with contempt all others who do not possess the same talent. With so little honesty do these gentlemen exercise their critical functions, that their praise is censure, and their censure is praise. For wit and humor they have no doubt some talent, but their stile is flippant and their reasoning superficial.—

The best authors have felt the lash of their satire oftener than the worst, because they were not qualified to appreciate their merits, and there is little reliance to be had on their judgment, as it is generally influenced either by private or party motives.

P. 329. "*Ten thousand.*" By waste I mean, when that which is raised for human sustenance is thrown away, without ever being applied to that purpose. In every man of war of 64 guns, the actual waste, according to this definition, is said to amount to one-eighth of the whole provision bought for the ship's company; in every great family it is somewhat greater, and in every great inn not less. Whoever wishes to have an idea of waste, must walk the streets of London before nine o'clock in the morning, and he will see that what was raised to feed human beings, goes to feed beasts; it may be said that these beasts in return become human food—but by œconomy all that filthy process might have been saved, and more human beings fed.

P. 331. "*Wretched.*" No man who will take the trouble to look a little about him, and to visit the dwellings of the poor, will deny that, in many situations, the produce of their labor is insufficient to enable them to procure food and clothing for their families, and that the pittance of parish relief is totally inadequate to provide them with comforts when they are sick or infirm. Their food (at least of such as cannot earn great wages), is poor and meagre, affording them little nourishment. Meat is seldom within their reach, and tea is the general substitute for more wholesome viands. Sound healthy beer or ale they never taste; but a poor, nasty, watery composition

which goes by these names, tho' composed of any thing but malt and hops—for in this age of dearness and inequality, every thing that can be adulterated, is adulterated; and whence does it arise, but from the excessive earnestness of all men to be rich, even at the expence of the poor, and from the excessive respect which is paid to riches above every good quality. Tho' it will be said, that much has been done to alleviate the sufferings of the poor, yet still it must be answered, that all these things are only palliatives, affording merely temporary relief, and that they go not to the root of the evil, which exists in the disposition of the higher ranks to depress the poor, and to keep them in a state of servility and dependence; dependent certainly they ought to be, but dependent only on their labor, the price of which should always bear a just proportion to the price of provisions, for all other schemes of providing for their wants are altogether inconsistent with the principles of good government or sound political œconomy. I like not the watery substitutes for wholesome food, which were invented by Count Rumford, and patronized with insulting benevolence by the wealthy of all ranks. They might be sufficient to keep body and soul together, but they were a poor reward for constant labor, and patient self-denial. The lower ranks, however, are everlastingly indebted to the worthy Count, who not only invented for them the cheapest food, but by wonderful ingenuity taught them how to eat it, and found out that nourishment depends not only on the quantity of meat, but on the time that is taken in eating it, and on the pleasure a man *fancies* he receives.—*Vide Essays Economical, &c. Vol.* i. *p.* 206. 207.

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